

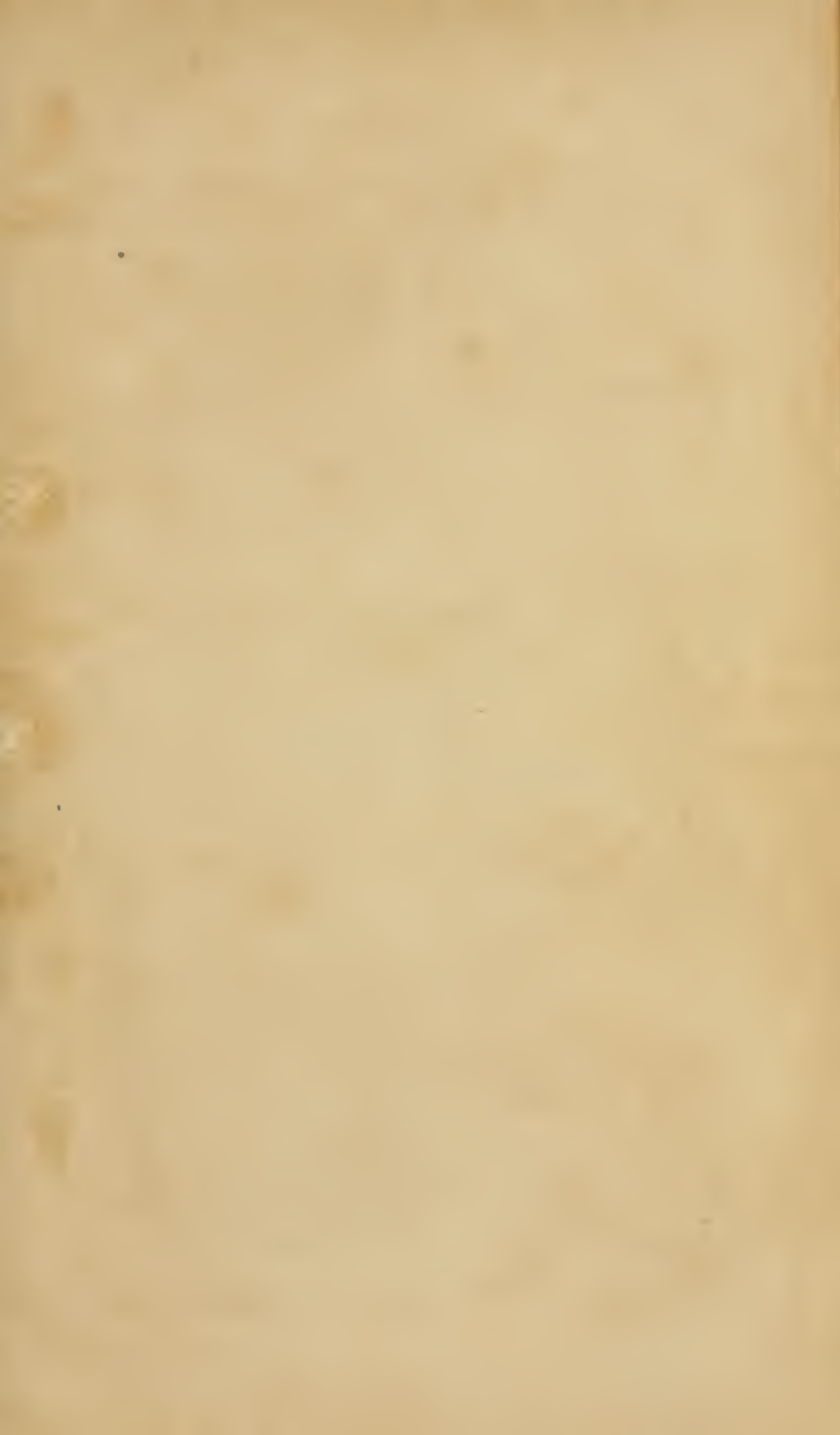
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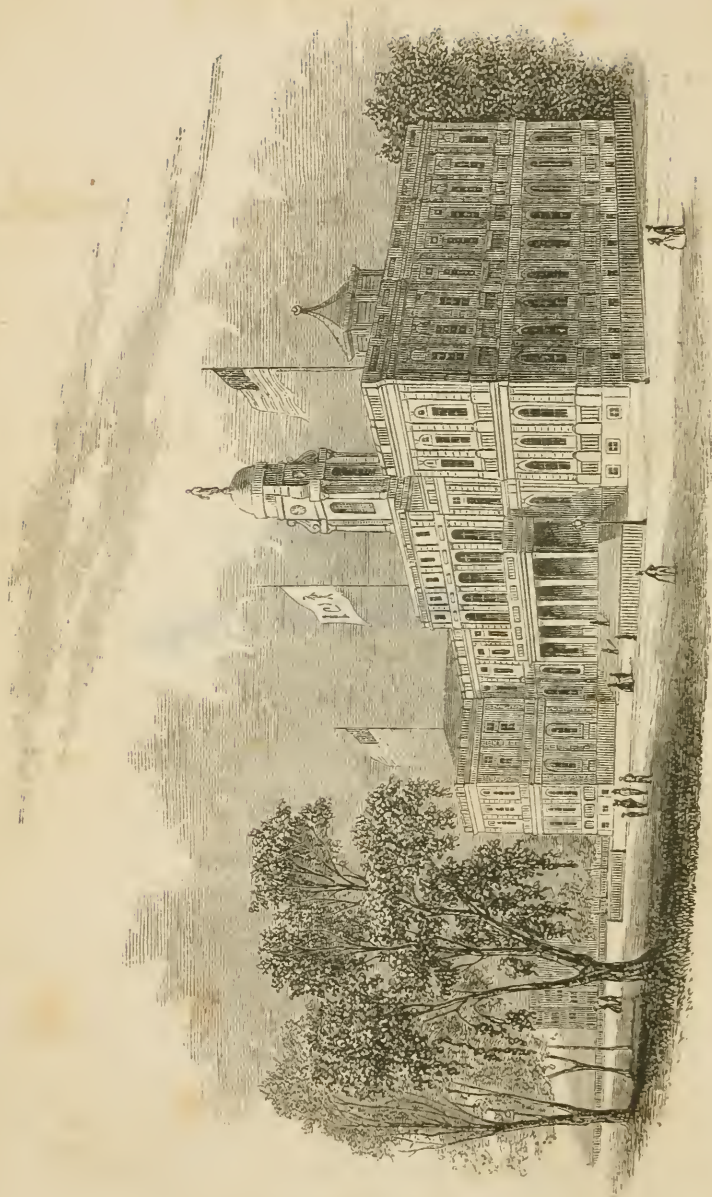
ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SURVEY

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THE CITY-HALL.

NEW-YORK:

A

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

Metropolitan City of America.

BY A NEW-YORKER.

(Daniel Barry)

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PREFACE.

THE growing magnitude and increased accessibility of the city of New-York, are constantly making that city more and more a subject of interest in every part of the country. At the same time, and by the operation of the same causes, its history is becoming less and less familiar to the multitudes that make up its vast population. It is gratifying, however, to be assured that the materials of the city's history are not likely to perish. During the past half-century many individuals have manifested a praiseworthy regard for this subject, and have done much to collect and preserve the perishable materials of our city's local history. But especial honor, in this respect, is due to the New-York Historical Society, by the indefatigable industry and liberal enthusiasm of whose members many a buried relic has been exhumed, and many a fading reminiscence revived, and embalmed in imperishable records. So much has been accomplished in that direction, and the whole matter is now in such able hands, and in the care of such zealous spirits, that the future renown of our metropolis may be accounted beyond danger.

It still appeared, however, to the author of the following pages, that there was a want of a more popular history of our city than any we have hitherto possessed. The details of the city's local history appeared to him to be too much scattered and mixed with more general historical matter, where, from the necessity of the case, they are only briefly and incidentally stated. As the result of this state of things, the

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facts of the city's history, as distinguished from that of the state or nation, are very imperfectly known to ordinary readers, even in the city itself. To bring the subject within the reach of all, is the design of this work.

It makes no pretensions to originality, nor yet to deep and thorough research. These were considered to be incompatible with the writer's design. It would have been an easy matter to have swelled the work to ten times its present volume; but in so doing the design for which it was written would have been defeated. In the historical portion the purpose has been to collect and detail the principal events of the local history of the city down to the beginning of the present century,—omitting, as far as possible, all matters of general history in which the city was not directly and individually concerned. The history of the past half-century is purposely made very brief and general. The events of this period are still fresh in the memories of the present generation, and the whole needs the mellowing influence of time to prepare it for the use of the historian. The descriptive portion was found much more difficult than the historical. In constructing it the question was perpetually recurring, what shall be inserted, and what omitted? and how may the requisite particularity be effected without sacrificing the not less necessary sprightliness and comprehensive generality? The author has in this matter done what he could, and probably he is as little satisfied with what he has been able to do as any of his intelligent readers will be. No doubt many will complain because of the omission of important matters; and quite as many, and often the same persons, will weary with the rehearsal of (to them) uninteresting details. These difficulties are believed to be unavoidable, and the writer has hoped for nothing more than to reduce them to their minimum proportions. As to how far he has succeeded, the reader will judge.

It has been an especial design to present the work entirely

free from the influence of favor for any sects, parties, or persons. The stand-point of the writer is that of an American and a Christian; and doubtless what he has written will sufficiently attest that his position has had some influence over his writing. He would be very sorry to be compelled to believe that such is not the case. Further than this he has the feelings and sentiments of a New-Yorker,—“one to the manor born;” and he does not hesitate to confess that he has written under the influence of that instinct of human nature by virtue of which every man sees and appreciates the excellences of his own country, city, or neighborhood. If this be a fault in a writer, it is no discredit to a man.

The writer would gladly acknowledge the sources from which his materials have been drawn, were it possible for him to do so. But these are so various, and often so far from being original in the places whence he obtained them,—and not unfrequently the same matter is found in several independent works,—that the thing is given up as impossible. If any one shall suspect that *his* productions have been drawn upon, the probability of the correctness of the suspicion will not be denied; but it will be well, if such an one is inclined to complain, for him first to make himself certain that the purloined treasure was really his own, and that the proof of the theft shall not involve himself in the same offense, by disclosing an earlier authority, from which both were taken. The chapter on Education was gathered, principally, in detached pieces, from the reports of the Boards of Education in the city. A proper and satisfactory exhibition of the history of the schools of the city is still a desideratum. The chapter on “The People of New-York” appeared originally in the Knickerbocker Magazine for July, 1852, and of its excellences, however inconsiderable, the author claims the ownership, while he alone is responsible for its faults and defects. The final chapter on the “Future of New-York” is submitted to the reader, to be estimated by him as it shall seem to de-

serve. The composition of it afforded a little amusement to the writer, and possibly it may contribute in the same way to the pleasure of the reader; and if so it will not fail of a valuable result.

As to the form and method of the work, but little needs to be said. The style of composition is the writer's own: it would have been better had he been capable of doing better; as it is, it must go forth, with all its imperfections on it. In the distribution of the matter into chapters, the design has been to divide by natural joints, rather than to sever into so many equal portions. It is hoped that this part of the work will be found satisfactory. The distribution into sections has been made with the hope of adding to the sprightliness of the work, or at least of breaking the dead monotony into which it was feared the continuous narrative would otherwise fall. This arrangement, too, it is anticipated, will be favorably received by the reader.

The work is now submitted to the public, of whose candor the writer has had many occasions to think favorably, and to whom he therefore, without trepidation, commits this production, which goes forth relying solely upon its own inherent qualities for that favorable reception, but for the hope of which books would not be published. Of its intrinsic excellence it does not become him to speak confidently—and suspecting it may need the favor of its critics, he hopes by modesty to secure whatever he fails to achieve by merit.

THE AUTHOR.

NEW-YORK, December, 1852.

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CITY OF NEW-YORK.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY, DESCRIPTION, AND EARLY OCCUPATION— 1609-1630.

§ 1. *A strange sight is seen.*

ON the 3d day of September, in the year 1609, a strange and unaccountable phenomenon was witnessed by the wandering savages who happened to be in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook, and in sight of the place where the waters of the Lower Bay unite with the ocean. A creature of a size and proportions that quite surpassed their conceptions, came moving, as if self-impelled, upon the face of the water, apparently descending from the clouds, or coming from the dim and mysterious regions of the great deep. Passing through the entrance that leads from the untamed wastes of the wide ocean into the sleeping or sporting ripples of the inland bay, the wonderful stranger advanced to a considerable distance onward, and then stopped suddenly, and remained unmoved. The wondering savages gazed upon the unwonted sight with superstitious awe. The strange visitor, thought they, must be an inhabitant of another world, or of the scarcely less mysterious far-off regions beyond the seas, of which confused and uncertain rumors had reached

them ; or, perhaps, the Great Spirit himself had come in this manner to visit his children in the wilderness, but who could tell whether in mercy or in wrath ?

§ 2. *Hendrick Hudson and the "Crescent."*

The vessel that then entered the unknown waters of New-York Bay was the CRESCENT, commanded by HENRY HUDSON, who, though himself an Englishman, was sailing in a Dutch vessel, and under the flag of the United Provinces. Three years before, under the flag of his own country, he had coasted the western shores of Greenland, and pierced the Northern Ocean to within eight degrees of the pole, while searching for a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Two years later, the attempt to reach India by the northwest passage was renewed, and again failed of its purpose. The want of success in these two enterprises disheartened the London merchants under whose patronage they had been undertaken. Not so, however, with the undaunted navigator, who, like Columbus, his great prototype, when his own countrymen refused to sustain him, sought the assistance of strangers, and was employed by the Dutch East India Company to prosecute still farther his favorite work of discovery. He set sail on this memorable voyage on the 4th of April ; and keeping farther southward than before, he left Newfoundland to the right, and running down the southern coast of Acadia, (Nova Scotia,) anchored at length near the mouth of a noble river, since known as the Penobscot. Thence passing still farther to the south, he discovered Cape Cod, of which he took possession in the name of the United Provinces, and gave it the name of New-Holland.

But finding, as he proceeded yet farther to the southwest, that he was approaching the settlements of his countrymen in Virginia, he turned to the northwest to explore the unknown waters lying in that direction, hoping to find some opening that might conduct him to the vast expanse of the South Sea. It was thus that, after a voyage of five months, Hudson entered the inland waters of the middle region of the North American coast, and began the discoveries that have given to his name an imperishable renown.

§ 3. *He explores the harbor and river.*

The barbarous inhabitants of the shores, though overawed by the first appearance of the CRESCENT, soon recovered from their consternation, and after a short time communications opened free between the vessel and the shore. A week was spent at the first anchorage, after which, passing through the Narrows—the strait that connects the lower and upper bays—on the 11th of September, 1609, Hudson, the first of Europeans to explore this hitherto sequestered region, brought his sea-worn craft to ride quietly upon the broad bosom of the noble river that now, with manifest propriety, perpetuates his name. Ten days more were occupied in exploring the river. Cautiously sounding his way, the intrepid navigator brought his vessel across the broad waters of Tappan Bay, and through the narrow passage of the Highlands, till, opposite the spot now crowned with a city bearing his own name, he came to shallows, and there he cast his anchor. Proceeding still farther in his boats, he examined the river and its banks till it dwindled to a comparatively insignificant fresh-water stream. Then

turning his face once more toward the ocean, about a month after he had first entered these inland waters, he again passed outward through the same channel by which he had entered, and leaving his new discoveries to their original solitudes, he hastened to report to his employers the fruits of his adventures.

§ 4. *Did Hudson first discover these regions?*

The question has been raised whether indeed Hudson and his companions were the first Europeans that ever entered the waters of New-York Bay. Conjecture has made this region a portion of the mysterious *Vinland*, so famous in Scandinavian story. Fancy has also brought the wandering Prince Madoc to this coast, and within these quiet waters. It has been more confidently asserted that Verrazani, nearly a hundred years before the date of Hudson's discovery, actually entered this harbor, and spent some time in its examination, though the proof of this assertion is far from being satisfactory. With somewhat greater probability, it is declared that persons in the employ of the Dutch Greenland Company resorted to this place about the year 1598, to find a shelter for themselves during the winter months; but of this, too, the proof is wholly unsatisfactory. So far as any reliable evidence is concerned, Hudson's claim to priority in the discovery of the harbor of the commercial metropolis of the New World, and of the river that bears his name, is still unimpeached.

§ 5. *How the newly-discovered region appeared.*

The newly-discovered landscape appears to have impressed the minds of the discoverers with the most

lively and agreeable emotions. September is, in many respects, the most delightful season of the year in this part of the world; and the weather, during the stay of the voyagers, seems to have been, for the most part, highly favorable. The accounts they gave of the lands they had discovered were at once true to nature, and yet almost enchanting. To employ the language of a chronicler of these events: "The island of Manhattan spread wide before them, like some sweet vision of fancy, or some fair creation of industrious magic. Its hills of smiling green swelled gently one above another, crowned with lofty trees of luxuriant growth, some pointing their tapering foliage toward the clouds, which were gloriously transparent, and others loaded with a verdant burden of clambering vines, bowing their branches to the earth, that was covered with flowers. On the gentle declivities of the hills were scattered in gay profusion, the dogwood, the sumach, and the wild briar, whose scarlet berries and white blossoms glowed brightly among the deep green of the surrounding foliage; and here and there a circling column of smoke rising from the little glens that opened along the shore, seemed to promise the weary voyagers a welcome at the hands of their fellow-creatures." Another writer, in sketching the history of this discovery, has given other features of the scene with equal truthfulness and felicity of expression. "Reptiles sported in the stagnant pools, or crawled unharmed over piles of moldering trees. The spotted deer crouched among the thickets, but not to hide, for there was no pursuer; and there were nothing but wild animals to crop the uncut herbage of the productive prairies. Silence reigned,

broken it may have been by the flight of land-birds, or the flapping of water-fowl, and rendered more dismal by the howling of beasts of prey. The streams, not yet limited to channels, spread over sand-bars tufted with copses of willows ; or waded through wastes of reeds : or slowly, but surely, undermined the groups of sycamores that grew by their side. The smaller brooks spread out into sedgy swamps, that were overhung by clouds of mosquitoes ; masses of decaying vegetation fed the exhalations with the seeds of pestilence, and made the balmy air of the summer's evening as deadly as it seemed grateful. Vegetable life and death were mingled hideously together. The horrors of corruption frowned on the fruitless fertility of uncultivated nature."

§ 6. *How the native inhabitants appeared.*

The land thus discovered was not altogether an uninhabited waste. It was the dwelling place of man ; but of man debased to the same state of uncultivated wildness that marked the face of nature around him. Of the numerous powerful tribes that once possessed the regions now covered by the cities and villages, the fields and meadows of our smiling country, none were located about the places visited by these foreign adventurers. Scattered and enfeebled bands of the great family of the Mohegans were found along the banks of the Hudson ; and the Manhattans, a small and feeble tribe, had their few "smokes" on the eastern bank near the river's mouth. These Indians were among the least elevated, in social position and in useful knowledge, of all the families of American savages ; nor were they such formidable

warriors as were sometimes found among these fierce children of nature. In harmony with the rude nature around them, they were vagrants and wanderers over the face of the country, rather than lords of the soil. Their architecture was the rudest that debased human ingenuity could devise, or untaught human hands construct. Their food consisted of ill-flavored roots and wild fruits, or the precarious produce of the chase. Their religion (if indeed they can be classed among religious beings) was the indistinct prompting of an immortal mind shut up in the darkness of ignorance, and impelled by the untamed passions of a depraved heart. In character, habits, and pursuits, the human tenants of these wilds were but one remove from their irrational associates of the wilderness.

§ 7. *General aspect of the bay and environs.*

Before proceeding to notice the affairs of the Europeans, as they subsequently occurred in the region whose discovery has now been detailed, it may be agreeable to the reader to have a more definite account of the local configuration of the newly-discovered country. Few spots of earth unite more of the elements of beauty than may be seen in a bird's-eye view of the harbor of New-York and environs. The eyes of the original discoverers saw this scene in all its beauty, when, in the soft light and transparent atmosphere of early autumn, they first looked out upon it. After gazing upon this landscape under like circumstances, one may readily sympathize with the spirit of their glowing descriptions, and would esteem such gorgeous language as indicative of a just sensibility rather than of an exuberant fancy. Since

that time, art may have added something to its refinement; but in its original solitude there was also an awful sublimity mingling with and rising above the sweetness of this verdant scene, that is now wanting.

§ 8. *The Lower Bay and Narrows.*

The entrance to these quiet waters lies through a broad passage of more than four fathoms depth at low-tide, with the drifting sands of Coney Island on the east, and a long sand-bar projecting far out from the main-land (now called Sandy Hook) on the west. Immediately within the bar the waters spread out far to the west, forming a capacious inland bay, and insinuating far into the country. The ground in front, though apparently a portion of the continent, is, in fact, an island, being separated from the main-land by a narrow belt of water—the well known Staten Island. On the east of this is a long channel separating it from Long Island, and uniting the Lower Bay with the harbor, or Upper Bay. This channel is called the Narrows, and is the only and sufficient medium of communication in this direction with the ocean from New-York Bay. Along its eastern border runs the shore of Long Island, at the south a low sandy beach, but farther north a beautiful and fertile tract elevated more than a hundred feet from the water.

§ 9. *New-York Harbor.*

As seen by one approaching it from the Narrows, the Bay of New-York presents one of the finest land and water views on the face of the earth. A beautiful sheet of water expands on every side, with its jutting shores and frowning headlands in the dim dis-

tance—yet not so remote but that their waving outlines may be readily traced. On the left the upper side of Staten Island stretches away to the west, forming the base of the picture, while in front, slightly to the left, rise the blue shores of New-Jersey, with the hills of Hoboken in the distance. Directly to the westward, the waters open a passage into a deep inland bay, now known as Newark Bay, which is separated from the Bay of New-York by a low and broad peninsula, called Elizabethtown Point. Two small islands (Bedlow's and Ellis's) are seen in this direction—green specks, rising out of the water, and giving increased beauty to the fair scenery. Immediately in front the noble Hudson spreads out its broad surface, extending far into the interior—itsself an arm of the sea, capable of bearing the united navies of the world. On the right, after passing Long Island, which here rises in a precipitous headland, is, first, Governor's Island, a verdant spot of earth covering a continuation of the long ledge of rocks that underlies Manhattan Island. This island is less than a mile in circuit, and but a few feet above the level of high-water; and, lying at the mouth of the channel that here enters from the east, divides it into two parts. A little farther onward rises the rocky projection of Manhattan Island, once the desolate region already described, but now the seat of commerce and the dwelling-place of the multitudes that make up the Empire City of America.

§ 10. *The East River and Hurlgate.*

The channel that opens to the right—a deep and broad strait called the East River, and separating Long Island and Manhattan Island—leads from the

Bay of New-York into another smaller bay, (Wallabout,) and still farther onward it winds northward through a cluster of rocky islands—four of the largest of which are called, after early proprietors, Blackwell's, Randall's, Ward's, and Berrian's—to the celebrated eddy and whirlpool called by the Dutch settlers *Helder-gaat*, or *Helle-gaat*, meaning the *bright passage*, which the English corrupted into Hellgate, a name more recently softened into *Hurlgate*. This renowned pass, the terror of early navigators, and the scene of many a thrilling legend, demands a more circumstantial description than most other localities here enumerated.

It must be noticed that the East River connects two arms of the sea, which communicate with the ocean at points separated by nearly two degrees of longitude. Of course the tide enters by the eastern way considerably earlier than by the other, and, consequently, the water is forced rapidly through the narrower parts of the strait. At the point in question an irregular pile of rocks—a ledge with immense *bolders* lying confusedly upon it—extends quite across the channel, through and over which the water is forced with great violence. These rocks form a partial dam, so that the passage of the tide is somewhat obstructed, and the water on the side of the flood elevated above the level of the other side, and, of course, rapids and eddies are formed in various places. The overlying rocks sometimes form subaqueous channels, through which the water is forced by the pressure of the tide, and rising from which the current spreads over the surface, giving it the appearance of a boiling caldron. These agitations occur only when the tide is rising or fall-

ing; at slack-water, whether flood or ebb, both sides being at the same level, all is quiet. The interruption to navigation caused by this obstruction is less serious than might be apprehended. The channels between the higher crags of the rocks are large enough to give ample space for the safe passage of all kinds of inland water craft; and experienced navigators are accustomed to pass and repass "the gate" without loss or apprehension of danger.

§ 11. *Harlem River.*

To the west of Hurlgate, a deep bay, full of low reedy islands, indents the shore, and, narrowing to a diminutive channel, reaches quite over to the Hudson, and forms the northern boundary of Manhattan Island. This at the south-eastern end is called Harlem River; but at its junction with the Hudson, where it is a diminutive water-course, it is called Spuytendevil Creek. The direction of this channel, from river to river, is nearly north and south, cutting the narrow belt of land transversely, and making a distance of four times its width.

§ 12. *Manhattan Island—geologically and topographically.*

Manhattan Island is a narrow tongue of land lying between the Hudson River on the west, and on the east that part of Long Island Sound commonly known as the East River. The same body of water forms its southern boundary, while Harlem River lies on the north. Its greatest length, along the Hudson River, is a little more than thirteen miles: its breadth varies from one to two and one-third miles. Its aggregate area amounts to about fourteen thousand acres. The

entire island is underlaid by a ledge of stratified granitic rock, extending from north to south, and rising in some places to the height of nearly two hundred feet, and in others sinking to a considerable depth below the surface. The geological character of the island determines at once its figure and its surface, both of which are rough and irregular. Sudden acclivities and projecting crags were originally intermingled with ponds and marshes. In some parts the tide penetrated nearly to the middle of the island; and in others were fresh-water ponds, elevated considerably above tide-water. Toward the southern part of the island was a large extent of diluvial earth overlying the sunken rock, that came to the surface again at the southern point, and there only about at the level of the water. This tract extended nearly a mile the Hudson, and more than half a mile along the East River. Beyond this, and about midway between the two rivers, was a pond of fresh water, which was discharged by a brook running south-eastwardly to the East River, through a vast swamp, or estuary—the tract now reaching from Pearl-street on the west to Catharine-street on the east, and extending up nearly to Chatham-street. To the west of this swamp was another of less extent, separated from the former by a ridge, upon which Pearl-street runs. This was long known as Beekman's swamp, and the portion of the city erected upon the spot is still called "the Swamp." To the west of the Fresh Pond was a valley of wet land reaching down to the Hudson, and ending in a marsh, a region now traversed by Canal-street. Beyond this belt of fresh water and marshes, that almost insulated the part below them, there lay to the north-eastward

a fine tract of arable land and extensive meadows, the south-eastern angle of which was known for many years as Corlaer's Hook, so called after an early proprietor. The upland portions of this side of Manhattan Island were early appropriated by the Dutch colonists for farms, or "boweries," from which circumstance the neighborhood came to be called "the boweries"—a name still borne by a principal avenue of this part of the city, and perhaps destined to live while New-York shall continue to be a city. Farther up, on the eastern side, the land was more broken and rocky, swelling into eminences, with intervening swamps and morasses.

The west side of the island was less varied in its natural features than the other. The shore presented an almost straight line from end to end. The region extending northward from the Fresh Pond along the Hudson consisted of irregular hills and valleys, generally without fast rocks, although full of large and small loose stones and rocks, with springs of pure water, and with rivulets and marshes. The shore of the Hudson for a distance of three or four miles was low, and intersected by bays and estuaries; farther up it rises in high rocky hills of a most rugged and forbidding aspect. The whole of the upper part of Manhattan Island, embracing more than half of its entire area, was always ill adapted to agricultural purposes, and to the present time some portions have never been subdued by the skill of the cultivator. A more forbidding spot of earth on which to erect a great city has seldom been seen than was presented in the original ground-plan of the city of New-York; and in rearing a city on such a foundation the builders have com-

bined the arts of the stone-cutters of ancient Petraea and the amphibious labors of the founders of Venice and St. Petersburg.

§ 13. *Productions—vegetable and animal.*

As seen by the early navigators, this rugged fragment of creation was clothed in its primeval forests. Upon its knolls and hilltops grew the hickory, the chesnut, the white and yellow oaks, and the white ash, with underwoods of sumach, dogwood and hazel. Along the hillsides and by the water's edge were the beach, the sycamore, and the stately whitewood; and in the swamps, the elm, the white maple, the gum, and the black ash, with a countless undergrowth of shrubs and brambles, and clambering vines.

Its animal productions were those common to this part of the world. The sluggish bear straggled through these forests, while droves of gaunt wolves howled from the hilltops, and occasionally the shrill scream of the panther awoke the echoes along the valleys, and herds of timid deer cropped the green herbage in quiet security, or fled in dismay at the approach of their voracious enemies. The feathered tribes too were there in great abundance. Among the upland trees were heard the notes of the robin and blackbird, mingled with the screams of the garrulous bluejay, and the cooing of the wood-pigeons, that swept over the forests in innumerable companies. In the thickets were the thrush, the catbird, and the sparrow; and along the water's edge were found vast numbers of geese, ducks, and snipes. Along the streams and at the water-sides were colonies of beavers, or more solitary otters, muskrats, and minks; the forests were

animated with vast numbers of squirrels, while in the deep waters were porpoises, tortoises, and sharks.

§ 14. *The homeward voyage.*

The homeward voyage of the CRESCENT was prosperous, and in due time the gallant ship entered Dartmouth harbor in safety. Hudson immediately forwarded to his patrons a glowing account of his discoveries; and as they had been made by a party sailing under the flag of the Provinces, the rights of proprietorship belonged to that country. Thus, from the earliest period, was the country on both sides of the Hudson River conceded to the Dutch, by right of original discovery.

§ 15. *Early occupation.*

The new proprietors did not permit the discovery made in their behalf to be a barren one: the possession was soon occupied and turned to advantage. The very next year—while Hudson, again employed by his own countrymen, was prosecuting that glorious but fatal voyage that resulted in the discovery of an immense inland sea in the northern portion of our continent, which is at once his grave and his monument—some merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a vessel with an assorted cargo, designed for traffic with the natives on Hudson's River. The adventure proved successful, and was annually renewed for several succeeding years. In 1613, Sir John Argall, with a semi-piratical squadron under English colors, entered the harbor at the mouth of Hudson's River, where he found a few rude dwellings on the southern extremity of Manhattan Island, which served as the summer

quarters for a small company of Dutch traders, who were prosecuting their gainful purposes in this unfrequented region. They acknowledged allegiance to Holland, and claimed the protection of the flag of their own country. They, however, consented to hoist the English flag when commanded to do so by the British cruiser; but they pulled it down again as soon as he had gone. In 1614, seven ships were sent to America by a joint-stock company of merchants residing in Amsterdam, under the command of Adrian Block and Hendrick Christianse; and a rude fort was erected at the lower extremity of the island. The next year a fort was established at the head of navigation on the Hudson, near to the present site of the city of Albany.

§ 16. "*A trading-post on Hudson's River.*"

In these early enterprises of the merchants of Amsterdam, trade rather than colonization seems to have been the governing purpose. For several years no colony was attempted, and the trade of the whole region was an individual enterprise of those who chose to engage in it. But, in 1621, the Dutch West India Company was incorporated, with a monopoly of the trade of all the Dutch foreign possessions on both shores of the Atlantic Ocean, and having authority to govern any unoccupied territories that they might choose to appropriate. The immense regions thus given up to this new corporation were distributed among branches of the company located in the principal cities of Holland, and the country on the Hudson became the portion of the branch located at Amsterdam. Presently rude cottages began to clus-

ter about the block-house on Manhattan Island, and the incipient metropolis assumed the title of New-Amsterdam, while the whole territory of Hudson's River was called New-Netherland. A government was soon afterward established, and for nine years from 1624 Peter Minuets filled the important post of director of the infant colony. It was during this period that the whole island of Manhattan was purchased from the Indians, for a sum about equal to twenty-four dollars.

§ 17. *The town, as it was.*

“ These,” says an eloquent historian of our colonial affairs, “ were the rude beginnings of New-York. Its first age was the age of hunters and Indian traders; of traffic in the skins of otters and beavers; when the native tribes were employed in the pursuit of game, and the yacht of the Dutch, in quest of furs, penetrated every bay, and bosom, and inlet, from Narraganset to the Delaware. It was the day of straw roofs, wooden chimneys, and wind-mills.”

CHAPTER II.

NEW-AMSTERDAM.—1630-1664.

§ 18. *The patroons.*

FOR the first twenty years after their discovery, the Dutch possessions on the Hudson had much more the character of a trading-post than that of a colony. Holland was at that time becoming a nation of merchants, and such was the growth of trade at New-Amsterdam that in 1632 the exports amounted to the very considerable sum of fifty-seven thousand dollars. In 1629 a grand scheme for colonizing the Dutch territories in America was formed in Holland. Liberty was given to the members of the Dutch West India Company to plant colonies in New-Netherland on certain easy conditions. It was decreed, that whoever should, within four years after giving notice of his purpose to do so, form a settlement of not less than fifty persons of fifteen years old and over, should be entitled to occupy and possess a tract of land sixteen miles in extent, along the sea-shore, or the bank of any navigable river, (or eight miles when both banks were occupied,) with an indefinite extent inland. The persons who formed colonies under this provision were called *patroons*, and were intrusted with large powers within their several manors, both as proprietors and as civil magistrates.

§ 19. *The work advances.*

Under this system of colonization the lands about the bay, and on both sides of the Hudson, were speedily



NEW-AMSTERDAM-1695.

taken up by the more enterprising members of the Dutch West India Company. The island of Manhattan, however, was wisely reserved for the use of the company. The patroons, in order to secure the lands they had appropriated, made great efforts to obtain the requisite number of colonists. Some were obtained by emigrations from Holland, and some from the English colonies. To forward this purpose, liberal conditions were offered by the patroons; and, following the example of the home-government, the colonial authorities granted a full toleration to all Christian sects.

§ 20. *Wouter Van Twiller, Governor.*

In the year 1633 the little colony of New-Netherland received a governor from the fatherland in the person of Wouter (or Walter) Van Twiller, and the scattered settlements and trading-posts on the Hudson were erected into a province of the United Netherlands. The new governor brought over with him a company of a hundred and four soldiers, a school-master, and a minister. But as the trade with the Indians was the all-engrossing matter of interest, but little was done toward introducing permanent settlers into the province. The governor, however, applied himself vigorously to his public duties, and several improvements were undertaken. The fort was rebuilt, with barracks for the soldiers; a church and parsonage were erected, and also a house for the governor; and mills and other buildings necessary for the welfare of the settlement. The island of Manhattan was divided into farms, called "boweries," and on the one nearest to the fort, (that is, from Wall-street to the Park,) the governor

had a dwelling, barn, brewery, and boat-house built. Buildings were also erected on some of the other "boweries" of the company.

§ 21. *The governor in trouble—is recalled.*

During the whole term of Van Twiller's administration the little colony was in a state of disquiet or alarm. On the east the English were steadily encroaching on the territory of the company, and on the Delaware the Indians were carrying on a destructive war against the feeble settlements on that river. Nor were the internal affairs of the government less troublesome. Between the government and the patroons continual disputes were kept up, as to their respective rights, and especially as to the privilege of trading with the Indians, of which both parties claimed a monopoly. At the same time the governor was not altogether forgetful of his private interests. In company with several others he purchased of the Indians a fertile tract of land on Nassau or Long Island, (at Vlatlands,) upon which the new proprietors proceeded to establish farms. He also purchased for his own use the little island just south of the fort, originally called *Nutten Island*, from the great number of nut-trees found on it; but, from its being the property of Governor Van Twiller, it has since been known as Governor's Island. But the discontents that prevailed in the colony at length came to the notice of the company, and, from the character of the complaints, it was deemed best to recall the governor, which accordingly was done, after an administration of four years.

§ 22. *William Kieft, Governor.*

The new governor, William Kieft, did not arrive in the colony till March, 1638. He then found the company's affairs much neglected, and the public property in a ruinous condition,—the building going to decay,—the boweries or farms untenanted and stripped of their stock, and the purchase of furs, which constituted the principal object of interest in the colony, engrossed by private traders, and conducted in a most profligate manner. The new governor endeavored by orders and proclamations to remedy these evils, but with only partial success. A few additional settlers were also brought into the province about this time, and some further purchases of land from the Indians were made; but the growth of the settlements was as yet inconsiderable.

§ 23. *The Swedes on the Delaware.*

About this time Peter Minuets, formerly director of New-Amsterdam, with a company of Swedes, under the patronage of Queen Christina, daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, entered the Delaware, and purchased of the Indians a tract of land on the western side of the bay, and built Fort Christina. Kieft was greatly dissatisfied with this intrusion upon territory claimed by the Dutch West India Company, and, by repeated and violent protests, to which Minuets paid no attention, forbade the intended settlement. But the Dutch governor deemed it unsafe to attempt to dislodge the intruders by force, and the power of Sweden in the affairs of Europe was such as to forbid the home-government interfering in the matter. So

the little Swedish colony was left to pursue its course in peace.

§ 24. *New inducements to settlers.*

The little progress made by the colony, at length induced the directors of the West India Company to mitigate some of the rigors of their policy. The monopoly of the trade to the colony was so far modified as to permit any who might choose to do so to engage in it; though only the company's ships could be used for transportation. A free passage was given to all who wished to remove from Holland to the colony; and emigrants were offered lands, houses, cattle, and farming tools, at an annual rent, and clothes and provisions on credit. The authority of the patroons was defined and somewhat diminished. To every person who should bring six persons into the colony, two hundred acres of land were to be given; and the towns and villages were to have magistrates of their own. Other provisions of a similar character were made, regulating the trade with the Indians, and also providing for the religious and educational wants of the people.

§ 25. *Population increases.*

Under the new arrangements a number of emigrants were drawn from Holland, some of them men of considerable property. Some English indented servants, who had served out their time in Virginia, settled also in New-Netherland; and some Anabaptists and others, who had been driven out of New-England by religious intolerance, sought here a place of safety. The settlements were now rapidly extend-

ed in every direction around New-Amsterdam. On Long Island, in addition to the settlements at Wallabout and Flatlands, another was commenced (1639) at Breukelen [Brooklyn]. Staten Island, and the region to the west of Newark Bay were both granted to patroons, and settlements commenced upon them. New-Amsterdam shared only indirectly in these improvements, but its progress, was slow, though steadily onward. "A fine stone tavern," says an old chronicler, was built, and the "mean old barn" that had served for a church, was replaced by a new stone building, erected within the inclosure of the fort, and paid for partly by the company, and partly by subscription.

§ 26. *Further troubles by other colonies.*

The foreign relations of New-Netherland became by degrees more and more complicated and embarrassing. The encroachments from the New-England colonies were becoming truly alarming; and, on the south, the Swedes were firmly seated in their position, and threatened to exclude the Dutch entirely from their possessions on the Delaware. The growing importance of the colony of Rensselaerwick, at the north, which began to assume a kind of independence, became a further cause of uneasiness. These difficulties, however, though sufficiently embarrassing, were not the worst that the governor had to oppose. A more terrible calamity than any of these presently threatened the colony, from a nearer and much more implacable enemy.

§ 27. *Troubles with the Indians.*

The Indian tribes of the regions about New-Amsterdam became incensed against the whites by a thousand petty provocations, arising from the avarice or folly or mere wantonness of the colonists, and, in return, committed such acts of revenge as seemed to demand chastisement from the government. The Raritans, a tribe residing on the west side of the Hudson, were the first to feel the prowess of the white man. Both parties were sufferers in the conflict that took place, and the Indians gladly accepted the proffered terms of peace. Soon afterward a Dutchman was killed by an Indian belonging to a tribe located near Tappan Bay, and the murderer protected by his tribe, for which cause eighty men were sent to inflict due punishment upon them. Alarmed at the threatened invasion, the Indians promised to give up the murderer. The expedition thereupon returned to New-Amsterdam, but the promise was never fulfilled. A quarrel subsequently broke out between the colonists and the Hackensacs, and two white men were treacherously murdered by the Indians. The chiefs offered *wampum* in atonement, which the governor refused, and demanded the murderers. Just before this time the Tappan Indians, fearing an attack from the powerful tribes of the Mohawks, removed down into the neighborhood of New-Amsterdam, and were mingled with the neighboring tribes, especially the Hackensacs. Soon after these united bands of savages came and encamped in two bodies at no great distance from the fort. Their design was evidently not hostile; but the occasion was seized by the enemies of the Indians at

New-Amsterdam, and an order to attack them was obtained from the governor, while under the influence of wine at a holiday feast. The attack was wholly unexpected by the Indians, and very little resistance was made. A terrible slaughter ensued. About eighty of the savages, including old men, women, and children, perished miserably in the conflict, or were afterward murdered in cold blood. The noise of the battle, and the shrieks of the women and children, could be plainly heard at the fort. Next day the war party returned into the town, bringing with them thirty prisoners.

§ 28. *An Indian war—A treaty of peace.*

These atrocities, with others of a like character that were soon after perpetrated, aroused the Indians to a high pitch of exasperation. Eleven petty tribes united to make war against the Dutch, whose unprotected boweries, reaching in every direction many miles from New-Amsterdam, offered an easy prey to the savages. Many houses were burned, the cattle were killed, the men slain, and several women and children made prisoners. The terrified and ruined colonists fled on all sides into New-Amsterdam, and, all who could, sailed for Holland. The expeditions sent against the Indians were only partially successful in subduing them, and, worst of all, discontents and mutual criminations distracted the councils of the governor. The Indians at length, satiated with blood, offered terms of peace, which were gladly accepted by the whites, and a respite given from the bloody and ruinous conflict.

§ 29. *More Indian wars—A terrible slaughter.*

But the peace was of short continuance. A new confederacy of seven tribes again spread consternation and ruin among the frontier boweries; the settlements beyond Newark Bay, and those on the west end of Long Island, were laid in ruins, and only three boweries were left on Manhattan Island. The colonists were clustered in straw huts about the fort, which was in a ruinous and hardly tenable condition—themselves short of provisions, and their cattle in danger of starving. A palisade was erected to the north of the town, which remained for half a century, and is still commemorated in the name of the street (Wall-street) that finally took its place. The next year (1644) was occupied by an expensive and harassing Indian war. The Indians' villages on Staten Island were burned, their corn destroyed, but they themselves eluded their pursuers. An expedition against a small village in the vicinity of Stamford produced nearly the same results. Not so, however, with an expedition of nearly two hundred men under the command of Captain John Underhill, sent against a hostile band near Hemstede (Hempstead) on Long Island, by which more than a hundred Indians were killed, and a number made prisoners. But the greatest slaughter took place later in the season, when a second expedition, under the same commander, was made against the Indians in the neighborhood of Stamford. The villages were reduced to ashes, and a fearful destruction of life occurred, with all the accompanying horrors that distinguished the famous Pequod War.

§ 30. *A reinforcement—peace with the Indians.*

About this time a company of one hundred and thirty soldiers arrived in the colony from the West Indies, and were quartered in New-Amsterdam. The Indians had suffered greatly during the summer and autumn, and soon ceased active hostilities, and asked for peace. Treaties were made with the principal tribes during the ensuing year, by which the Indians agreed to remove to considerable distances from New-Amsterdam, and not to approach any of the settlements with their war parties; and so the colony was once more freed from the horrors of a savage warfare.

§ 31. *Distress in the colony—Kieft recalled.*

The settlements about New-Amsterdam were almost ruined by these protracted wars, and at their close could number scarcely one hundred men. Of thirty flourishing boweries, but five or six remained, and everything bore like marks of ruin and disorder. Complaints were freely uttered against the administration of the governor, which at length induced the directors to recall him. He accordingly sailed for Holland in a vessel laden with furs valued at nearly a hundred thousand dollars, which was wrecked on the coast of Wales, and about eighty persons, including Governor Kieft, miserably perished.

§ 32. *Peter Stuyvesant made governor.*

The successor of Kieft was Peter Stuyvesant, late governor of the Dutch West Indies—a soldier by profession, and a man of good parts and much energy of character. The beginning of his administration was

distinguished by several considerable concessions of popular privileges. The monopoly of transportation, hitherto enjoyed by the company, was relinquished, and trade thrown open to free competition—though New-Amsterdam continued to be the only port of entry.

§ 33. *Condition of the province.*

The population of the entire province of New-Netherland at this time (1647) could not have been more than about two thousand souls—nearly half of whom were within the patroonship of Van Rensselaer. New-Amsterdam was a village of wooden huts, with roofs of straw, and chimneys of mud and sticks, abounding in grogshops, and places for the sale of tobacco and beer. At the west end of Long Island were six plantations, governed by a local magistracy, in part self-elected; but New-Amsterdam was still governed by the sole authority of the governor and his fiscal. Breukelen about this time first received a village charter.

§ 34. *The colonists obtain larger liberties.*

In 1652 the inhabitants of New-Amsterdam, by petitioning the authorities at home, obtained enlarged municipal privileges. A board of magistrates, or city court, was created, composed of two burgomasters and five schepens, annually selected by the governor from twice those numbers nominated by the magistrates of the preceding year. A movement was also made toward a still more popular form of government, by calling a convention of two delegates from each village, to provide against a threatened war with New-England. But the governor dissolved the convention

as irregular, and sneeringly characterized it as a New-England invention, with which he would have nothing to do.

§ 35. *Governor Stuyvesant's diplomacy.*

For several years Governor Stuyvesant was chiefly occupied with the foreign relations of the colony, and, after protracted negotiations, all difficulties were adjusted with the New-Englanders on the east and the Swedes on the south, and the province of New-Netherland reposed in quiet and safety. It should not be understood, however, that the Dutch governor obtained all he wished in these negotiations; for while he claimed both the Connecticut and the Delaware Rivers as parts of his province, he obtained peace only by relinquishing both of them, and their territories. While engaged in these transactions with the neighboring colonies, the governor was in danger of suffering loss in his own capital. The Indians, taking advantage of the absence of the soldiers from the town, made a descent upon it with sixty canoes, causing great alarm, and doing some inconsiderable damage; but they dispersed and disappeared as soon as the forces returned.

§ 36. *Religious liberty in spite of the governor.*

The affairs of the colony now began to assume a more cheering aspect. Settlers arrived from various quarters; among them a number of Jews, exiles from various parts of Europe, and also fugitives from New-England, driven out by religious intolerance. Already New-Amsterdam contained a population made up from almost every country in Europe, and of nearly every religious creed. This leniency in matters of

religion was not agreeable to the taste of the governor, who liked the Lutherans and the Quakers as little as did his neighbors in New-England; but he was overruled by his superiors at home, who commanded that the same indulgence that made the parent city a general asylum for the oppressed, should prevail also in its namesake on the Hudson; so, though quite contrary to his wishes, the governor permitted them to remain in peace.

§ 37. *Slaves brought from Africa.*

The Dutch West India Company was largely concerned in the slave-trade, and special permission was given to particular merchants to send two or three ships to the coast of Africa to purchase slaves, and to promote the settlement of the country by importing them into New-Netherland. Most of the slaves thus introduced remained the property of the company, and the more trusty and industrious of them, after a certain period of labor, were allowed little farms, paying in return a certain amount of produce. Thus early was the African race introduced among the population of the colony, and the system of negro slavery incorporated among its institutions, to remain a scourge and reproach for nearly two hundred years.

§ 38. *The town and province seized by the English.*

Unquestionable as was the right of the Dutch to the country they occupied on the Hudson, that right had never been acknowledged by Great Britain; but, on the contrary, the whole region was claimed as a portion of the possessions of that kingdom. Several

faint attempts to assert that claim had been made at different times, but without success. Soon after the restoration of Charles II., this whole territory was granted to his brother, the Duke of York, who proceeded immediately to take measures to seize upon the colony. The Dutch knew nothing of these transactions before the ships bearing the duke's forces had actually sailed. Rumors of the intended invasion had reached New-Amsterdam before the arrival of the hostile fleet, but no adequate provisions were made for the public defense. Stuyvesant would have given battle to the invaders, or suffered the rigors of a siege; but his feelings were not those of the colonists generally. The Dutch cared little whether they were under a Dutch or an English yoke; and the English, who constituted nearly half of the entire population, rather favored than opposed the claims of their own countrymen. Accordingly, after several days spent in negotiations, the entire colony was surrendered to the English, (Sept. 8, 1664,) on terms quite satisfactory to the inhabitants.

§ 39. *New masters and a new name.*

With a change of masters, came also a change of name to the conquered colony; and from that time both the province and the chief town were called New-York, in compliment to the duke, who now became their proprietor and ruler. Though greatly improved under the administration of Stuyvesant, this embryo mercantile metropolis of the western world consisted as yet but of a few narrow streets, near the southern extremity of Manhattan Island. There were a few handsome buildings, covered with tiles brought from

Holland ; but most of the houses were thatched cottages.

§ 40. *The town—the fort and Battery.*

The plan of the town at that early period was substantially the same that is now found in the same locality. The water-line has been carried out far beyond its original place, so that what were once outside streets are now a considerable distance from the water. The southernmost point was occupied by the fort, which, however, did not lie immediately upon the water's edge, as a ledge of sunken rocks, extending off this point, rendered it inaccessible to all kinds of water craft. Within the fort was the residence of the governor, the public offices, and the Dutch Calvinist church. Between this and the beach was an irregular and unoccupied space, which was used as a place of resort for out-door exercises by the townspeople in these primitive times. Of the manner of using this ancient promenade the facetious and sentimental Knickerbocker gives the following account:—

“ The old burghers would repair thither of an afternoon, to smoke their pipes under the shade of the stately sycamores, contemplating the golden sun, as he gradually sunk in the west, an emblem of that tranquil end toward which themselves were hastening; while the young men and the damsels of the town would take many a moonlight stroll among these favorite haunts, watching the chaste Cynthia tremble along the calm bosom of the bay, or light up the white sail of some gliding bark, and exchanging the honest vows of constant affection. Such was the origin of that renowned walk, *the Battery*, which, though

ostensibly devoted to the purposes of war, has ever been consecrated to the sweet delights of peace."

§ 41. *The Bowling-Green.*

Just above the fort was a triangular space, devoted to no special purpose, and therefore ready to be occupied in any way that the public convenience might require. This was the *campus* where the field-sports of the men and boys of New-Amsterdam took place. At an early period it was used by the soldiers of the garrison for their manual exercises, and hence it was called the Parade. It was also used as a cattle market, and in 1659 an ordinance was made by the town authorities regulating the manner of keeping the cattle here offered for sale. At a much later period it was inclosed, and devoted to the purpose that has given to it its present title—*the Bowling-Green.*

§ 42. *The streets and "grafts."*

From the fort, and beyond the triangle described above, a broad and straight roadway led back toward the cultivated boweries farther up the island. This was from the beginning the principal street of the town, though not a favorite one for residences on account of its distance from the water. The Dutch called it "De Heere-straat," or Main-street. In 1665, when an enumeration of all the houses in the town was made, this street had only twenty-one dwellings. The English changed its name to *Broadway*. Passing along the south side of the fort, a street extended along the East River to the great swamp, where it turned away to the northward, leading to the boweries. The western portion of this street the Dutch

called "Perel-straat;" and the more easterly, "Hoogh-straat," or High-street. This was a favorite place for residences with the Dutch settlers—about one quarter of all the houses in the town at the time of the conquest were on this street. To the east of the fort, a short distance, was a small stream, ending in a deep marshy inlet, just eastward from the rocky point of Manhattan Island. This stream and inlet were, in the early days of the colony, excavated and turned into a drain and canal, called "De Graft." Houses were afterward built upon its banks, after the manner of Amsterdam in Holland; and, as several smaller "grafts" had been made, this began to be called "De Heere Graft," or main canal. Into this canal all vessels trading to New-Amsterdam were accustomed to enter, for the purposes of lading and unlading. Here was the custom-house, and, of course, the "graft" was an object of no little interest to the government. Twenty dwellings were located on its banks in 1665. Immediately under the east wall of the fort, and reaching down to the water close by the rocks, ran a little street, that seems to have been coeval with the town itself. The Dutch called it "Winchel-straat," or Shop-street: it was paved as early as 1658, before any other street, though it had but five houses at the enumeration. A battery, called Whitehall, was, at a subsequent period, erected near the foot of this street, and that name has since been given to the street. A street was opened leading eastward from the south-east angle of the fort, and, passing the "Heere graft" by a bridge, ended in "De Hoogh-straat." The name of Bridge-street was naturally given to it, and has never been exchanged for another. Directly above

this, abutting the east side of the fort, was another small street, called "the Brewer's street," as it was the site of Van Cortlandt's brewery. It is now Stone-street. Opposite to the Parade, eastward, a drain was opened leading into the main canal, called "Beaver-drain;" and, on the opposite side of the canal, another drain, called "Prince's," entered from the east. On the banks of these drains the Dutch had erected about thirty houses before the conquest. Beaver-street now occupies the place of those canals. Below Beaver-drain, and parallel with it, was a narrow and inconsiderable street, called Marketfield-lane, along which were erected eight dwellings. On the eastern side of the town was a street leading to and beyond the city wall, called by the Dutch the "Vley," and by the English, Smith's Valley, subsequently William-street. About twenty houses were found on this road when the town fell into the hands of the English.

§ 43. *Population.*

The whole number of dwellings in the town at the time of the capture, including several outside of the palisade, was less than two hundred and fifty—the aggregate population was considerably under two thousand souls. Such was the famous city of New-Amsterdam when it became the capital of the Anglo-American colony of New-York,—such the Empire City at the close of its first half-century.

CHAPTER III.

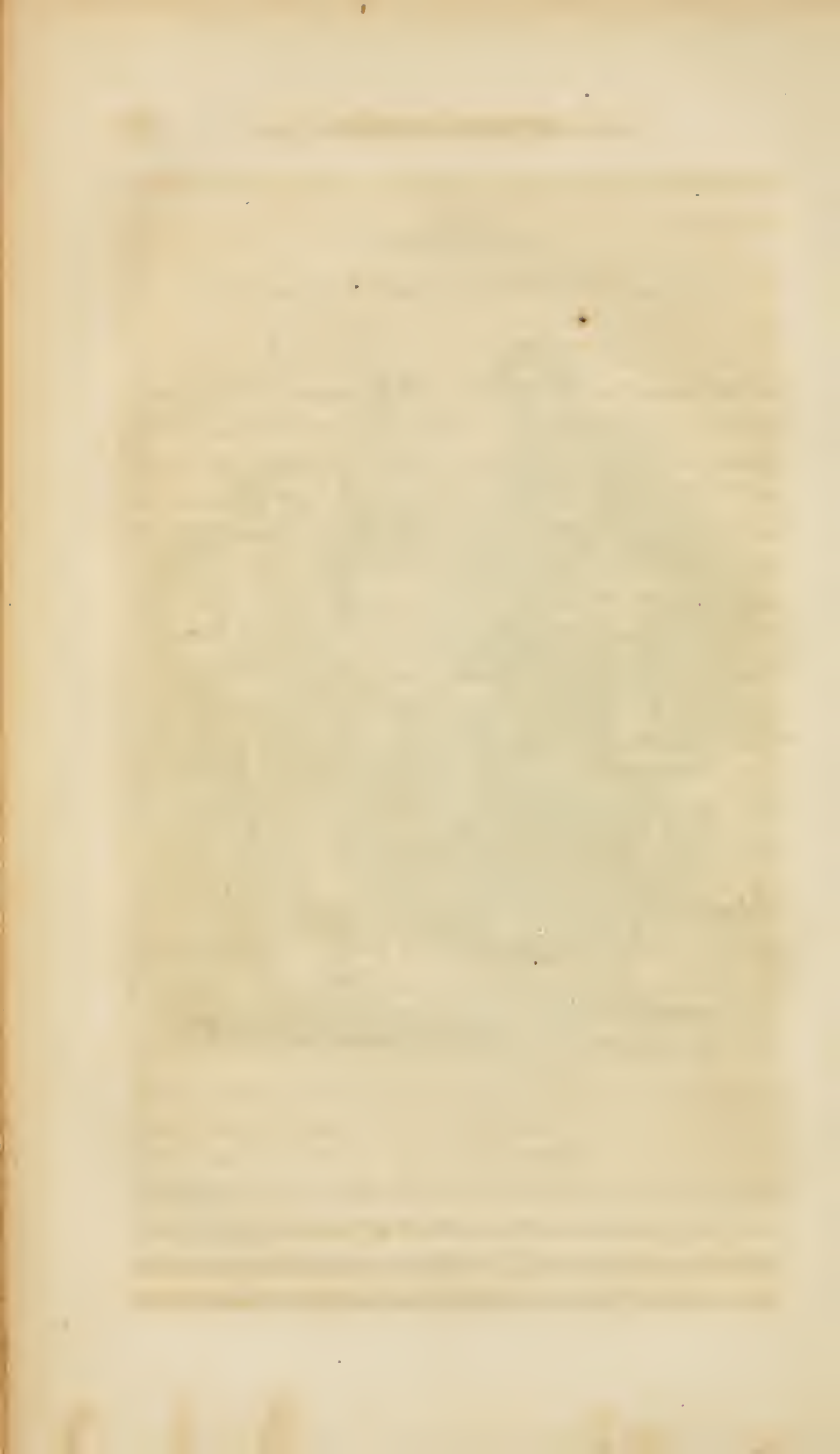
NEW-YORK AN ENGLISH PROVINCE—1664—1700.

§ 44. "*New lords make new laws.*"

THE political transition of the Dutch colony of Nieu-Nederlandt into the English ducal province of New-York, caused but little agitation among the people, as it made but little change in their affairs. The proprietors entered quietly upon their newly-acquired conquest, and, agreeably to the terms of the capitulation, set about ordering public matters. Col. Robert Nichols, the commandant of the military force by which the conquest had been made, was constituted civil governor of the province. The course of policy adopted was liberal, and well calculated to render the people satisfied with the new state of things. The people were not treated as conquered enemies, but rather recognized as loyal subjects of the British crown, entitled to the rights and privileges of Englishmen. New charters were issued to all the incorporated towns and villages, reaffirming their former liberties, and to the city of New-York were granted several additional and highly important privileges. Instead of the Dutch municipal dignitaries, the English system of city government was introduced, and the municipal authority committed to a mayor, sheriff, and five aldermen. An enumeration of the male inhabitants of the province was made, and also of the dwellings in the principal towns. Of the results of this census, so far as the city of New-York is concerned, some notice was taken in the preceding chapter.



DUTCH COSTUMES.



§ 45. *Boundaries—the duke's code.*

As New-York had now become an English province, it was no longer difficult to arrange the questions of boundaries, that had caused so much trouble while the country was held by the Dutch, whose claims reached from the Connecticut to the Delaware. To the east, on the main-land, almost everything was conceded to the English colonies, when the line was fixed nearly as it is at present; while on Long Island everything was given up to the duke and his Dutch subjects, much to the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of the eastern part of the island, who were wholly of English origin. Toward the west things went yet worse with the claims of American-Dutch empire. All beyond the Hudson River, as far up as Tappan Bay, was cut off from New-York, and erected into a new and independent province, and given to Sir George Carteret, by whom it was called New-Jersey.

The new governor also, by the authority of the Duke of York, published a body of laws, regulating the internal affairs of the province, and defining the duties and privileges of all classes of persons. These laws were of a truly just and liberal character, and gave great satisfaction to the people generally, and even served to attract settlers from the neighboring colonies. The affairs of the colony seemed to be decidedly improved by the change of masters, and the whole term of the administration of the first English governor was quiet and prosperous.

§ 46. *Governor Lovelace's administration.*

The authority of Col. Nichols, the acting governor, was derived from a military commission; but in 1667

Francis Lovelace arrived in the province, bearing a commission from the duke, as governor, and immediately assumed the direction of public affairs. Among his first acts was one imposing a duty of ten per cent. on all imports and exports, by the sole authority of the duke, as proprietor of the province. Though this tax was not greater than the people had paid under the Dutch governors, and though it was to be used in defraying the expenses of the government of the province, yet the people, and especially those of English extraction, protested against the imposition of such a tax without their consent, as inconsistent with the rights of Englishmen. So early were the notions of liberty, and of hatred to arbitrary taxation, naturalized in this country, and especially in this province. But though the duke, for political reasons, had begun his career of government by making concessions to popular rights, he evidently had no notion of continuing as he had begun. The protest of the people was treated as an insult to his authority, and ordered to be burned by the hangman. A state of uneasiness and dissatisfaction was the result of this course of action on the part of the proprietary duke; and to this were also added some slight difficulties between New-York and the neighboring provinces. Apart from these, the six years during which the government was administered by Lovelace, passed away quietly, and generally prosperously. He appears to have been a just and moderate magistrate; the single fault laid against him being that of the arbitrary imposts, which were laid by the duke rather than by the governor, and, it is believed, against the wish and remonstrance of that magistrate.

§ 47. *New-Netherland revived—and lost.*

In 1673 there was war between Great Britain and Holland, and, as the Dutch had never wholly given up their claims to their late possessions on the Hudson, a scheme was formed for their recovery. A fleet and armament were accordingly dispatched from Holland to recover the lost province. This fleet appeared before New-York on the 30th of July, and demanded the unconditional surrender of the city and province to the States-General of Holland. The governor was absent from the city, and the fort was held by a Captain John Manning, who, distrusting the fidelity of the inhabitants, of whom the greater portion were Dutch, chose to obey the summons. Accordingly, by a transition as easy as that by which New-Netherland became New-York, the latter disappeared, and the former again arose into being. Anthony Colve was made the governor of New-Amsterdam revived; the local magistrates, especially in the Dutch towns, readily swore allegiance to the new government, and then all things moved on much as before. But the new arrangement was destined to a very brief existence. A treaty of peace was concluded the next year between the contending claimants, by which Holland entirely relinquished her claims to the region on the Hudson, and forever extinguished the hope of the Dutch colony in America—as a genuine offshoot of the parent country in Europe.

§ 48. *Sir Edmond Andross, Governor.*

The province of New-York having been lost to the duke by the capture, and by the treaty of peace re-

stored to the crown of England, the title of the duke was thought to have been vitiated. To obviate any difficulty that might arise from that cause, the duke took out a new patent, by which all his former proprietary rights and privileges were reaffirmed. After this he appointed Sir Edmond Andross governor, and sent him out to take possession of the province in the name of the proprietor. The restoration, like the first and second conquests, was performed without causing much agitation. The people readily recognized the new governor, and, more mindful of their own liberties than careful as to who claimed possession of the province, they earnestly petitioned for increased privileges. They asked to be admitted to a participation in the government, by means of a popularly elected assembly. The governor was not unfavorable to the prayer of the petitioners, but when the matter came before the duke it was rejected. He had had too much to do with popular assemblies nearer home to permit them in his proprietary dominions. He, however, revived and confirmed the body of laws formerly promulgated by Colonel Nichols; and, by a proclamation, declared that "all estates and privileges possessed prior to the conquest should continue to be enjoyed."

§ 49. *State of the province.*

A survey of the extent and resources of the province was made about this time, whose results indicate quite a favorable state of things in the infant commonwealth. It appeared that there were at that time, in all, *twenty-four* towns and villages in the province, of which *sixteen* were on Long Island. The city of New-

York had about *three hundred and fifty* houses, and nearly three thousand inhabitants. In the entire province were from twelve to fifteen thousand inhabitants. The annual exports,—consisting of wheat, tobacco, beef, pork, horses, lumber, and peltry,—amounted to about \$240,000. The merchant fleet of the city counted three small ships, eight sloops, and seven boats. Agriculture was becoming the chief occupation of the inhabitants, and even on the island of Manhattan this was a principal pursuit. A fertile tract of land lying between what is now the Park and the Hudson River, formerly known as the Company's, and since as the Duke's Farm, began about this time to be an object of interest.

The manners of the people at this period were very simple, even approaching to rudeness. There were but few servants, and fewer slaves; yet the distinctions of ranks, especially among the Dutch, were jealously observed. Between the Dutch inhabitants and those of New-England extraction but little goodwill prevailed; though the superior skill and energy of the latter gave them, from the beginning, a decided advantage, and at length a preponderance in both language and manners.

§ 50. *Andross arbitrary and unpopular.*

Andross entered upon the duties of his office on the last day of October, 1674, and immediately gave an earnest of an arbitrary administration. Among his first public acts he proceeded to fill the offices of mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, for the city, by his own authority—in violation of the chartered rights of the citizens, and contrary to English usages as to incor-

porated towns. He also imposed taxes in the same arbitrary and objectionable manner. But the most impolitic, as well as intolerable, of his usurpations was his interfering with the religious liberties of the people. From the earliest times the Churches in New-York had enjoyed the privilege of ordering all their own internal affairs, quite independent of the interference of the government. But this was not agreeable to the arbitrary maxims of Governor Andross. He accordingly assumed the authority to appoint ministers to the several Churches in the province. This interference with their cherished privileges, especially by one who, though nominally a Protestant, was known to be the emissary of a confessed Papist, and himself no friend to the prevailing faith of the colonists, was highly distasteful to the Dutch Calvinists. Matters were presently brought to a crisis. The Calvinist church at Albany being vacant, the governor appointed a minister to it against the remonstrances of the congregation. No sooner had the new incumbent entered upon his office than he was arrested on certain frivolous charges of heresy, and thrown into prison. The governor now interfered, and liberated the minister, and caused the magistrates who had committed him to be arrested, and to give bonds for their appearance to justify their conduct. One of them—Jacob Leisler, a name that will presently appear again—refused to give the required recognizances, and was committed to prison. But such was the popular excitement that the governor feared to provoke it further, and therefore Leisler was set at liberty, and the obnoxious minister, fearing for his personal safety, left the province.

§ 51. *A new governor—better times.*

Andross's arbitrary manner of governing was found wholly unsuitable to the state of feelings in New-York, and though he had only carried out the will of his master, the duke, yet it was now determined to remove him from an office which he was found incapable of filling to the satisfaction of either party. He was accordingly, in 1683, superseded by Col. Thomas Dongan, a Papist by profession, but still a wise and discreet functionary. He seems to have had just notions of the rights of all parties of the body-politic, whose affairs he was called to administer, and to have ordered his conduct with a strict regard to all such rights. The duke had evidently learned by this time that his proprietary claims did not cover the souls and bodies of the inhabitants of his province, and that in all matters of political administration they were to be taken into the account as something more than passive parties. A change of policy was evinced by the fact, that the new governor brought with him a new "charter of liberties," providing that "supreme legislative power shall forever reside in the governor, council, and people, met in general assembly: every freeholder and freeman shall vote for representatives without restraint: no freeman shall suffer but by judgment of his peers; and all trials shall be by a jury of twelve men: no tax shall be assessed, on any pretense whatever, but by the consent of the assembly: no martial law shall exist: no person professing faith in God by Jesus Christ shall, at any time, be in any ways disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion." An assembly was soon after convened

agreeably to the provisions of the new charter, consisting of seventeen deputies from the principal towns in the province, together with ten council-men, and the governor. Some salutary laws were enacted, the necessary supplies were cheerfully voted, and all things proceeded pleasantly. The people were greatly pleased with the new arrangement of affairs, and everything seemed bright in the future.

§ 52. *New-York becomes a royal province.*

The death of Charles II. of England occurred on the 6th of February, 1685, and despite of the most violent opposition of a portion of the lords and commons, previously made to him as a Papist, the Duke of York quietly ascended the throne with the title of James II. By this change of the incumbent of the English throne a greater change occurred in the political relations of the province of New-York than in those of other portions of the British empire; since while these only received a new sovereign, that became also a royal province. The new sovereign now forwarded a royal commission to Governor Dongan, granting him powers wholly inconsistent with the "charter of liberties," and directing him to administer the government without the aid of assemblies. He was also especially instructed to allow no printing in the province. These oppressive measures produced much dissatisfaction, which was increased by the remembrance that both the king and the governor were acknowledged Papists—a sect against whom the popular prejudice was very strong, and who were justly looked upon as unsafe keepers of the civil and religious liberties of a Protestant commonwealth. It was, however, conceded by

all parties that Dongan was truly a gentleman in his manners, a man of integrity, and a good governor.

§ 53. *Livingston's Manor erected.*

Among the memorable acts of this governor was the erection of the last of the manorial estates founded in New-York. Robert Livingston, a Scotchman by birth, had, several years previous, come as an adventurer into the province, where he had, by marriage, become connected with both the Schuyler and Van Rensselaer families. To this individual was now granted a feudal principality on the Hudson, beginning about five miles below the present city of Hudson, and reaching twelve miles down the river, and backward with increasing breadth to the Massachusetts line. This was the foundation of the celebrated Livingston Manor, to this day a subject of interested consideration. Livingston himself acted a conspicuous part in the affairs of the province in his own times; and among his descendants have been some of the most illustrious names in the annals of the country.

§ 54. *Dongan replaced by Andross.*

Andross, whose unpopular administration in New-York has been already noticed, was afterward made governor of Massachusetts. Though he had been put out of office by the duke for his unfitness to manage the affairs of the province, yet, now that the duke had become king, it was determined again to try the more arbitrary rules of government, and therefore no other agent was so well fitted to his purpose as Sir Edmond Andross. To give him the fullest possible sway, all the colonies, from Pennsylvania eastward, were placed

under his authority. This was of course highly gratifying to the ambition of Andross; and not less so to his malice, as it afforded him an opportunity to be avenged upon Dongan, whom he could never forgive for having been the passive agent of his removal from the government of New-York. Of course Dongan was displaced as soon as possible after the power came into the hands of Andross, and Francis Nicholson was made lieutenant-governor in his stead. These changes in the affairs of the province were highly unsatisfactory to the people of the province, and especially to those of the city of New-York, who saw in them the precursors of greater troubles to come. But a change was at hand.

§ 55. *A revolution in England—Leisler.*

Early in the spring of 1689 a rumor reached America that the king had been dethroned, and succeeded by William of Orange. The news was everywhere received with the most enthusiastic joy, and nowhere more so than in the city of New-York. Of course the power of the royal governor was extinguished, nor did he make his appearance to either disclaim or to exercise his authority. All government was therefore at an end. The commissions of the magistrates were defunct, and no king was proclaimed. The only military force in the city consisted of five companies of militia, of which Nicholas Bayard was colonel, and Jacob Leisler senior captain. Bayard belonged to the aristocracy of the city, and did not enjoy the confidence of the people generally, being suspected of favoring the arbitrary measures of Andross's administration. He was not, therefore, the man to whom

the minds of the people would turn in the present emergency, nor was he forward to become a popular leader. Shortly after the receipt of the news of the revolution in England, a rumor of a plot to massacre all the friends of the Prince of Orange obtained currency among the excited populace. The people at once flew to arms, and rushing to the house of Leisler, demanded that he should take the direction of public affairs. Leisler hesitated, and called to his counsel several principal citizens, who strongly urged him to comply with the popular request, as the only means to avoid great confusion and probably bloodshed. Thus pressed, he at length assented, and, at the head of the militia, took possession of the fort and the public stores. A covenant was drawn up, and signed by the militia to the number of about four hundred, pledging themselves to each other to hold the fort "for the present Protestant power that rules in England;" and a committee of safety, in behalf of the citizens at large, appointed Leisler "Captain of the Fort," with large powers as provisional governor. Having caused William of Orange to be proclaimed king, Leisler addressed a letter to the new sovereign, setting forth the grounds of his proceedings, and accounting for the public money that had come into his hands.

§ 56. *Leisler acts as governor.*

Things soon assumed much of their usual quiet. Nicholson, seeing that Leisler was supported by the people generally, took the advice of his council and sailed for England. The members of the late council, among whom were Bayard, Livingston, and Van Cort-

landt, fled to Albany, where, being sustained by Schuyler and Van Rensselaer, they set up a rival government, professing indeed great zeal for the new sovereign, but denouncing Leisler as an archrebel.

In December following, a royal letter came to New-York, addressed to "such as for the time being rule in New-York," and inclosing a commission for Nicholson as governor. But as he was already on his way to England, Leisler and his friends construed that letter as a confirmation of his power in the office he then occupied. He therefore assumed the title of lieutenant-governor, and immediately issued warrants for the arrest of Bayard and his associates at Albany. In these rash proceedings Leisler was stimulated and directed by Melbourne, his son-in-law, who was now sent to Albany to demand the surrender of that place to the authority of Leisler as lieutenant-governor of the province. Not content with thus establishing his own pretensions, Leisler caused the late council-men to be arrested and thrown into prison, and their estates to be confiscated. Having by these violent measures put down all opposition in the province, the plebeian governor next directed his attention to the foreign relations of his realm. The French king having espoused the cause of the banished king of England, a state of war existed between the two kingdoms, which, of course, extended to their dependencies in America. Leisler was too zealous for the cause of the new government of England to remain inactive in such a state of things. Preparations were immediately made to prosecute the war against Canada, and an assembly was called to perfect the arrangements and grant the necessary supplies. An expe-

dition was accordingly fitted out against the French, who had already made a hostile demonstration upon the borders of Lake Champlain; but it resulted in only partial success, and became an occasion of great complaints on the part of Leisler's enemies.

§ 57. *Leisler superseded.*

While these things were going forward on this side of the Atlantic, Leisler's letter to King William had gone forward and reached its destination. But the king was too much occupied with matters nearer home to pay much attention to the affairs of a distant and unimportant colony. In the mean time the enemies of Leisler, failing to defeat him at home, had undertaken to prepossess the mind of the sovereign against his faithful but injudicious servant, now acting the part of governor in New-York. Leisler's letter was accordingly left unanswered, and Col. Henry Sloughter was sent out with a commission as royal governor of New-York, and a company of soldiers for the defense of the province. The new governor and the soldiers embarked in different vessels, and that bearing the soldiers arrived first. Ingoldsby, the captain of the company, was, on his arrival, received by the enemies of Leisler, and immediately brought to their partisan views and antipathies. He accordingly refused to recognize the existing government, and, as he bore the king's commission, he demanded the command of the fort. Leisler refused to surrender the fort except to the order of the governor, which Ingoldsby could not produce. The acting governor, however, made a proclamation, recognizing Sloughter as governor, and directing Ingoldsby's soldiers to be provided for at the ex-

pense of the city. Six weeks passed before the arrival of the governor, during which time the fort was in a state of siege, and several lives were lost in the skirmishes between the two parties. Sloughter at length arrived, and at once fell into the same snare that had before entangled Ingoldsby. He immediately sent his captain to demand the surrender of the fort; but as the order was only a verbal one, of course it was not obeyed. The next step was to arrest Leisler and his council for high treason.

§ 58. *An affair of treason.*

Governor Sloughter became entirely the instrument of Leisler's most implacable enemies, who did not fail to use their power for his ruin. A special court was instituted for the trial of the prisoners, though the power of the provincial government did not extend to cases of high treason. Before this mock-court the forms of a trial, in the cases of Leisler and Melbourne, were gone through, and the prisoners pronounced guilty, and sentenced to be hung. No defense was attempted, since the court was wholly without authority in the premises, and when sentence was pronounced an appeal was taken to the king. Sloughter was in favor of allowing the appeal, and therefore refused to order the execution of the convicts; but those who were about him were in haste for the blood of their victims. The governor desired the assembly, then in session, to advise a temporary reprieve; but as that body was made up of violent partisans of the ruling faction, it was not done—and on every side were heard demands for the execution of the prisoners, as a measure essential to the peace and safety of the

province. Still the governor hesitated to proceed so far, in the very face of the law and the usages of the English courts. But where persuasion and intimidation had been tried in vain, stratagem and fraud were more successful. A public dinner was given for that express purpose, at which the governor was made drunk, and while in that situation made to affix his name to warrants for the execution of the prisoners: then he was put to bed at a late hour of the night in a state of beastly intoxication, and before he arose the next day the fatal work was accomplished. The gallows on which these victims of treachery and party violence suffered stood beyond the city, just below the lower part of the Common—a little to the east of the site of St. Paul's church. Leisler met his fate with a good degree of firmness. He confessed that in his public career he had erred through a variety of inevitable causes, but died protesting his loyalty, and the integrity of his purposes in what he had done. Melbourne was a man of a more violent spirit, and on the scaffold, seeing Livingston in the crowd, who had come out to gratify his malice by beholding the death of his enemies, he called out, "Robert Livingston! for this I will implead you at the bar of God!" The time between the signing of the death-warrants and the execution was but a few hours of the latter part of the night and the early morning: yet the news of the intended tragedy was widely circulated, and though the rain fell in torrents, nearly the whole town turned out to witness the sad spectacle. When the bodies were taken down, the multitude rushed greedily forward to obtain some last mementoes of their faithful leaders—shreds of their clothing or locks of their hair.

So died the first popular governor of the province of New-York.

§ 59. *Character of Leisler.*

This subject ought not to be dismissed without some further notice of the character of Leisler. Of his honesty, and the sincerity of his devotion to the cause of the people and of the late revolution in England, there is no cause at all to doubt. It is equally evident that his capacity was not equal to the work he took in hand. He was a man of much energy of character, but of moderate abilities, and possessed of but small advantages of early education. He belonged to the plebeian order of society, and his sympathies were with the common people, and of course he was hated by those who claimed a birthright to superiority. When the supreme power fell into his hands he proved himself unequal to the trust, and became dizzy by reason of his sudden elevation. The power that he should have used to conciliate his powerful adversaries was foolishly wasted in irritating them by needless and un-called-for severities. The feud thus commenced continued to distract the province long after his death, and at last that justice was awarded to his reputation and his family that was then denied to himself.

§ 60. *Sloughter's administration.*

Such was the inauspicious beginning of Sloughter's administration of the government of New-York. He arrived in the province on the 18th of March. The drunken bout and judicial murder just detailed are the only acts related of him during his stay in the city. Not long after these events he made a visit to Albany, from which place he returned in July; and

soon after terminated, by a sudden death, a weak, turbulent, and sanguinary administration of four months—the most dishonorable to all concerned in the annals of the province.

§ 61. *Governor Fletcher—reforms attempted.*

By the death of Sloughter the government devolved upon Captain Ingoldsby, as the president of the council. But the next year (1692) a new governor arrived from England. This was Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, who is described as “a good soldier, active, avaricious, and passionate.” He seems to have entered upon the duties of his office with a sincere purpose to discharge them faithfully, according to his views of what belonged to his position. His attention was directed especially to the religious wants of the province; and as he was very zealous for the Church of England, he endeavored to introduce a supply of ministers and schoolmasters of that Church, so as to bring over the people to a uniformity of religion and language. At his solicitation, the assembly appropriated money for building and endowing churches in various parts of the province; but, much against his wish, they granted to the several parishes thus endowed the privilege of choosing their own ministers. Trinity Church, in New-York, was among those erected under this provision, and through the influence of the officers and dependents of the government, it was, from the first, maintained as a parish of the Established Church of England. The other endowed Churches also, though contrary to the designs of the assembly, passed, one after another, into the hands of the same sect. Governor Fletcher was not a favorite with any considerable

class of the people of New-York, and his administration, though much better than many that had preceded it, was not a popular one. Nor was it more satisfactory to the home government. He was accused of permitting, from interested motives, certain violations of the "act of trade," to the prejudice of the royal revenues; nor did he escape suspicion of favoring, for a like reason, the pirates that then infested the American seas. He was, therefore, recalled, after having filled the office of governor for more than four years.

§ 62. *The pirates—Captain Kidd.*

The piracies of this period form an important item in the history of those times, and especially as to the city of New-York. Such were the depredations committed by these robbers of the seas, that it was found necessary to adopt some active measures for their extirpation. For that purpose a joint-stock company was formed, composed chiefly of merchants, both English and American, to purchase and fit out a ship of war to cruise against the freebooters. The command of this vessel was given to Captain Robert Kidd, a well-known American ship-master. His crew was chiefly selected by himself, in New-York, and, as was afterward believed, not without reference to the design to which the whole enterprise was finally perverted. With this ship and crew Kidd was for a long time the terror of the seas; and by his piracies he became more infamous than did Dr. Faustus by making Bibles, or even Bluebeard by murdering his wives. Scarce a bay or headland along the Atlantic coast, from Maine to Florida, is without its legend of Captain Kidd, the pirate, and his buried treasures.

It is supposed that he frequented many of the bays and islands toward the eastern part of Long Island Sound, as well as along the south-eastern coast of Massachusetts. Among the latter, are Kidd's Island and Money Island, on one of which is "Kidd's Cave," where the legends of the credulous say the pirates were accustomed to reside when in this part of the world. It is not improbable that these desolate regions were sometimes the resort and lurking-places of the buccaneers of those times, though it is very uncertain whether Kidd ever visited them. Doubts have been expressed whether Kidd was not unjustly accused of piratical practices; but it can scarcely be believed that so notorious a matter could have been so universally credited at the time without some good and sufficient evidence, though the thing is possible.

§ 63. *Lord Bellemont, Governor.*

The active efforts made against Kidd, previous to the time now under notice, had driven him from the ocean, and it was suspected that he was lurking somewhere in the American colonies. Lord Bellemont, the governor of Massachusetts, who had been a large stockholder in the company that sent Kidd abroad, was directed to make diligent search for him. To facilitate this business, he was made governor of New-York after Fletcher's removal, and also directed to investigate the charges that had been laid against his predecessor. He was also especially directed to enforce, with exactness and fidelity, the "act of trade."

§ 64. *Bellemont and the Leislerians.*

In the British parliament Lord Bellemont had taken a lively interest in the reversal of the attainder of Leisler; and accordingly, when he came to New-York, he naturally fell among the friends of that unfortunate chief. He, therefore, ordered the bones of Leisler and Melbourne to be disinterred, and, after lying in state for some days, they were reinterred with great pomp in the Dutch church. An assembly was convened, in which the Leislerians had a majority, and everywhere that party was in the ascendant. An indemnity was voted to Leisler's heirs, and certain "extravagant grants of lands," made by Sloughter, were declared void. It was also provided by this assembly that no governor should alienate, for a longer period than his own term of office, "the King's Farm, the King's Garden, the Swamp, and the Fresh Water." After remaining in New-York about a year, Lord Bellemont returned to Boston, where he was no less a favorite than in the Dutch capital. Soon after, he returned again to New-York, where a sudden death put an end to a happy and successful, though brief administration. He was buried in Trinity Church-yard, where his grave remains to the present day.

CHAPTER IV.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE TOWN—1675—1700.

§ 65. *A view of the city in 1677.*

THE growth of New-York city during the whole of the seventeenth century was steady but not rapid. In 1677 an enumeration of all the tenements in the city was made, which showed an aggregate of three hundred and eighty-four dwellings of all classes. The progress of the city for the first sixty years of its existence is thus shown to have been only a little more than six houses for each year. The location of the houses by streets did not vary materially from the plan of the city noticed in a former chapter. Pearl-street still had the greatest number of dwellings; but between this street and the East River was a belt of land of sufficient breadth to admit a row of houses to be placed there. This of course became a favorite location with the amphibious Hollanders, and at this enumeration no less than forty-eight houses were set down to "the water-side,"—the future Water-street. Broadway had also advanced very considerably, and now contained some fifty dwellings; while on the extreme east side of the town, "Smith's Vley," or valley, (now William-street,) was becoming a well-occupied street. The city wall was maintained with much care, as the great safeguard of the inhabitants against foreign enemies.

§ 66. *Wards of the city.*

At this period the city was divided into seven wards. The *West* ward included the streets immediately about

the fort, on both sides of Broadway, and the shore of the Hudson River. The *North* ward lay to the east of this, and west of the canal, and came as far south as the fort. *South* ward lay directly below this, and was the wealthiest portion of the city. Yet further south was *Dock* ward—also a rich locality. These last two wards contained more than half of the entire property of Manhattan Island. *East* ward lay in the region of Smith's Vley and the Countess's Key,—now Coenties-slip. The five wards covered the whole area of the city within the wall; but just beyond that bulwark, and extending some miles outward, was the *Out* ward; and still further northward, embracing the upper portion of the island, was *Harlem* ward. Each of these portions of the city was entitled to an alderman in the city council.

§ 67. *Laws and ordinances.*

The city fathers, at that primitive period, appear to have exercised a truly paternal care over their municipal charge. It was ordered that "the watch should be set at eight o'clock every evening, after ringing the bell, and the gates locked at nine, and opened again at daylight." To prevent the possibility of a surprise by the Indians, it was directed that "every citizen should have a musket, and powder and balls, constantly in readiness for use." Especial care was taken that the city should be properly provided with public houses; and as if there was danger that there would be some lack of regard to the wants of those for whom such houses are provided, it was further ordered that "all persons who keep public houses shall sell beere, as well as wyne and other liquors, and keep

lodgings for strangers," and a tariff of prices for each article of refreshment was fixed by authority. To facilitate building, it was ordered that "the land in the city convenient to build on, if the parties who own the same do not speedily build thereon, may be valued and sold to those who are willing to build." The streets were to be cleaned every Saturday, and the carmen were required to carry away the dirt, or forfeit their license. No butchering was allowed to be done within the city, but a public slaughter-house was built over the water, beyond the wall, in "the Smith's Vley." To the denizens of this metropolis such laws as these read strangely. This was probably that "good old time" so often referred to by querulous old people.

§ 68. *Enlargement of the city.*

In 1676 a law was passed providing for paving some of the principal streets. That now known as Whitehall-street was the first to receive this attention. Soon after the great canal was ordered to be filled up, and changed to a street, and named Broad-street, which was also immediately paved. Previous to this the water had come up to Garden-street, (now Exchange Place,) and the ferry-boats landed their passengers near the upper part of the canal. A few years after, a street was opened between this and Broadway, called New-street, by Adrian Waters, for which contribution to the public interest he was exempted from paying taxes for six years. "Beaver graft" was also doomed to the same treatment that had been awarded to "de Heere graft," and the road in the Smith's Vley was regulated and paved as a street of the city.

§ 69. *Regulations of trade.*

The tendency to cherish monopolies was, from an early period, strongly exhibited in the affairs of the city. Trade was accounted a peculiar privilege, that only "freemen" might enjoy; and the privileges of freemen were granted only on certain carefully guarded conditions. The price paid by a merchant for the "freedom of the city" was *six beavers*. None but freemen of three years' standing were allowed to trade up the Hudson, and only those of New-York city could trade over sea. The shipping of the port amounted, in 1683, to about thirty sailing vessels, and nearly fifty open boats. The number of carmen was fixed by law at "*twenty, and no more.*"

§ 70. *The flour monopoly.*

But of all the monopolies enjoyed by the citizens, to the exclusion of the country people, that of bolting and packing flour was at once the most valuable to the former and oppressive to the latter. A considerable trade in flour with the West-Indies had grown up, of which the farmers in the interior had gladly availed themselves for disposing of their surplus crops. It so happened, however, that a large portion of the profits of this trade came to the millers and the merchants of the city, who bought the wheat of the farmers, and converted it into flour for transportation. No mill was allowed to be erected out of the city for making flour for market, and the packing of flour was forbidden to all but the city millers. Against this oppressive monopoly the country people remonstrated long and loudly; and as the provincial assembly was

composed chiefly of country members, it was at length abolished. This, however, was not effected without a severe struggle, and only against loud and earnest remonstrances on the part of the city people, who seem to have been persuaded that the perpetuation of their peculiar privileges was essential to the prosperity, if not indeed to the very existence, of the city.

§ 71. *Further extension of the town.*

From the facts stated in the petition of the city corporation to the assembly against the repeal of the "flour monopoly," some notion of the growth of the city may be obtained. It is evident, however, that in their zeal to prove the great value of the trade in question, the city fathers rather over-estimate the attainments of the city. They state that at the beginning of the trade, in 1678, only three hundred and eighty-four houses were found in the city; the annual revenue was not over two thousand pounds; and there were only three ships, seven boats, and eight sloops owned in the city. But at that time, when the trade had been in progress sixteen years, there were sixty ships, forty boats, and twenty-five sloops. The revenue had also increased to five thousand pounds per year; and there were nine hundred and eighty-three houses, of which not less than two-thirds depended on the flour-trade. But although the petition in favor of the monopoly did not succeed, the city survived the shock; and though its growth was afterward less rapid, it was quite as favorable to the general interest.

§ 72. *A dangerous rival.*

About this time New-York was threatened with a formidable rivalry from the opposite side of the Hud-

son. The people of New-Jersey found it quite too difficult for them to go all the way to New-York to do their trading, especially as the passage of the river was always tedious and often dangerous, and so a market was set up on their own side. This became a cause of alarm to the New-Yorkers. Complaints were made that "trade and revenue had suffered," and fears were expressed that New-York would be greatly injured by the "diversion of trade" to the west side of the river.

§ 73. *Progress of "Breukelen."*

A town had been planted just across the East River at an early period of the history of New-Netherland, which, from the unevenness of the surface of the surrounding country, was called Breukelen, or Brokenland, a name since softened into the less significant but more euphonious word Brooklyn. This town was regarded more favorably than that on the shore of New-Jersey, and was treated rather as a younger sister than a dangerous rival. By an early regulation of the corporation of New-York, coöperating with the authorities of Brooklyn, "a fayre and market was held in Breukelen on the first Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and in New-York on the three succeeding days." A regular ferry between the two places had been maintained for many years, under the control of the corporation of New-York. The rates of ferriage were fixed by law,—“for a single person eight stivers, *in wampum*, or a silver twopence; each person in company, half that price; or if after sunset, double price.” This ferry at an early period became a source of revenue to the city. For several years pre-

vious to 1698 it was rented out at one hundred and forty pounds a year; and that year it was leased for seven years, at an annual rent of one hundred and sixty-five pounds. The lessee, in this case, was the celebrated Rip Van Dam, an individual who figured largely in his times in the affairs of both the city and the province.

§ 74. *Sales of city lots.*

The large increase of houses in the city, noticed in a former section, necessarily caused an increased demand for building lots, and accordingly we find frequent mention of sales of public property for that purpose. A few years previous to the time now under notice, a portion of the old burying-ground in Broadway was ordered to be laid out in lots of twenty-five feet front, and "sold at public outcry." This is the first case on record of the sale of real estate at auction in this city. In 1689 fourteen lots, "near the Countess's Quay," were sold at auction for about thirty-five pounds each, and eleven others at twenty-seven pounds each. A little later public surveyors were appointed to lay out streets and lots; and frequent grants of land were made by the corporation for trifling considerations. In the early part of the year 1692, it was directed that "all lands in front of the Vley, from the block-house to Mr. Beckman's, be sold:—the lots between the block-house and the Green-lane (Maiden-lane) at twenty-five shillings per foot; and those from the Green-lane to Mrs. Van Clyff's, at eighteen shillings per foot." These lots were accordingly offered at those rates, but found no purchasers—the prices being thought above their value. Soon afterward, however,

twenty-three lots on the Vley were sold at auction at an average rate of about twenty-six pounds each; a lot at the end of Broad-street was valued at eighty pounds. About this time wharves were built at the foot of King (Pine) street, and of Maiden-lane, extending out from high-water mark, which was then nearly up to William-street.

§ 75. *Outside localities.*

With the increase of the city, two places of some importance beyond the city wall began to come into notice. One of these was the residence of Mrs. Van Clyff, who seems to have kept a public house, on Smith-street, near the present corner of John and William-streets. A lane was opened between the two leading highways, now William and Pearl-streets, which, on the early maps of the city, is called Van Clyff-street,—this now constitutes a part of John-street. At a much later period, her name, with a modernized orthography, was given to a street leading from her residence to “the Swamp.”

The other was the farm and residence of William Beekman. His house stood upon a gentle eminence to the west of the Swamp. Mr. Beekman was among the most considerable citizens of his times,—was several times chosen alderman of his ward,—and was the proprietor of a large tract of ground in that neighborhood, including “the Swamp,” and reaching up to “the Common.” As early as 1656, a controversy arose between himself and some of the citizens, who claimed the right of driving their cattle across his lands. The case at length came before the city council, where the defendants showed “that it had been

customary with them to herd their cattle every year on the Common, and there had been a right of way there before their time." This defense was deemed satisfactory, and the right of way was thus established. A lane was afterward fenced across the farm, long known as Beekman's lane, for the use of those enjoying the right of way to the Common. This was the beginning of Beekman-street, which, however, was not opened and regulated as a public thoroughfare till nearly a hundred years later.

In 1696, Teunis De Kay petitioned the corporation for leave "to open a carte way" from the head of Broad-street toward the city Common, "by the pyc-woman's,"—offering to do all the work necessary at his own expense, if he could have "the soil." Probably at that time there was an opening in the wall at the head of Broad-street, allowing the egress and ingress of teams and vehicles, as it is known there was no gate at that place. The petition was granted, and the beginning of Nassau-street was the result. At first, indicating the professed design of the projector of the enterprise, it was called "Horse-and-cart-street," and afterward "Kip-street," till it received its present name.

§ 76. *Defenses of the city.*

In Governor Dongan's report to the Board of Trade, in England, dated in 1697, he complains of a want of adequate defenses for the city. It is probable that his excellency was not more in dread of foreign enemies than of his own people, who, he says, were "growing every day more numerous, and are generally of a turbulent disposition." He describes the principal

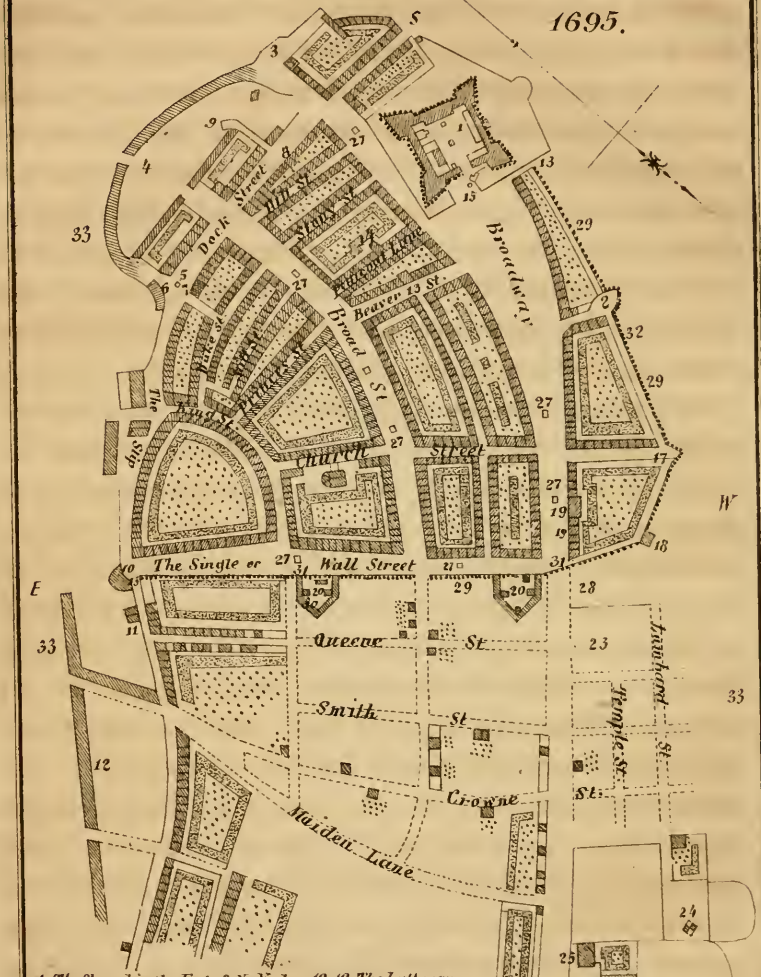
fort as "well situated for the defense of the harbor, on a point made by the junction of the Hudson River and the Sound." It had thirty-nine guns, and two mortar pieces, with the necessary ammunitions and military stores. The inland side of the city had for fifty years been protected by the city wall,—a stockade of timbers and heavy planks, that extended along the line of the present Wall-street from the East River to Broadway, and thence to the Hudson River, and down its bank to the point of rocks below the fort. This wall was originally built to protect the city from the Indians, and was now becoming somewhat neglected, and soon after was entirely removed.

Agreeably to the suggestions of the governor, additional fortifications were soon afterward erected at prominent points around the city. At the foot of Winchell-street was a battery of fifteen guns, called Whitehall, which name was also soon after given to the street. Leyster's Half-moon stood on the Hudson, near the fort. The State-house battery, of five guns, was at the eastern extremity of the mole and dock, and directly in front of the State-house. The Burghers' battery, of ten guns, stood at the eastern extremity of the wall; and the North-western block-house at its junction with the Hudson River. At the city gates, on Broadway and Smith-street, were guard-houses of stone for the defense of the gates, which served also for keepers' lodges.

§ 77. *Public edifices.*

The public buildings of the city were, at this period, neither numerous nor of imposing appearances. The State-house (stadt-haus) stood at the corner of Dock-

NEW YORK
1695.



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| <p>1. The Chapel in the Fort of New York
 2. Leyster's half moon
 3. Whitehall Battery of 15 guns
 4. The Old Dock
 5. The Cage and Stocks
 6. Stadt House battery of 5 guns
 7. The Stadt or State House
 8. The Custom House
 9. The Bridge
 10. Burghers or the Slip battery of 10 g.
 11. The Slaughter Houses
 12. The new Docks
 13. The French Church
 14. The Jews Synagogue
 15. The Fort Well and Pump
 16. Ellets alley
 17. The Works on the W. Side of the City
 18. The north west blackhouse</p> | <p>19, 19. The Lutheran Church & Ministers House.
 20, 20. The Stony point on the N. Side of the City.
 21 The Dutch Calvinist Church built 1692.
 22. The Dutch Calvinist ministers House.
 23. The burying ground.
 24. Windmill.
 25. The Kings Farm.
 26. Col. Dungan's garden.
 27, 27. Wells.</p> | <p>28 The plot of ground reserved for the minister House
 29, 29. The Stockade with a bank of earth on the inside
 31, 31. The City Gates
 32. A postern gate</p> |
|---|---|---|

street and the Countess's Key. This building was sold and diverted to private uses in 1699, and was succeeded by the new City Hall, erected soon afterward, at the head of Broad-street. The State-house was the center of municipal affairs. In front of it were the stocks, the cage, and the ducking-stool—instruments for the correction of minor offenses. The Custom-house was also on Dock-street, a little farther to the west. At the foot of King (now Pine) street were abattoirs, or public slaughter-houses, already spoken of.

Of places of worship—the French (Huguenot) church stood on the south side of Beaver-street, midway between Broadway and Broad-street. The Jews' synagogue was similarly situated on Mill-street. In the fort was the king's chapel, which was also used as an English church; and the Dutch Calvinists had a church on Garden-street, just east of Broad-street. Trinity church was erected on the spot still occupied by its successor about the close of this period. Just above this church was a piece of ground set apart for the site of the parsonage, and beyond this were the buildings belonging to the King's Farm. Between these buildings and the river was the windmill—one of the most important appendages of the city—and on the opposite side of Broadway was Governor Dongan's garden.

§ 78. *A view of the city.*

From an examination of a map of the city of New-York, dated in 1695, it appears that all within the city wall was then pretty closely occupied with buildings. Broadway was reckoned the west side of the city, as there was no street between it and the river, except a path along the stockade. Outside of the

wall two streets were laid out to the west of Broadway, but they were not yet occupied. On the east side of the town Great Queen (Pearl) street skirted the East River, leaving outside of it the space between high and low-water marks. On the south were the "Wet Docks," inclosed by a mole reaching from the point of rocks below the fort, in a curve, to a point near the State-house, within which the shipping were sheltered from winds and currents. Beyond the wall, along Great Queen-street and the Smith's Vley, were several houses erected, and a number of buildings were scattered over the open space toward Broadway, up as far as the Green-lane. The population of the city had increased at this time to over four thousand, and at the ratio of nearly one hundred per cent. in twenty-five years.

The aspect of the city of New-York, as it was a hundred and fifty years ago, would now be esteemed strangely rude and grotesque. The whole number of houses was less than a thousand, and these were very different things from their successors of the present time. They were constructed principally of wood, and were of the rudest workmanship—one or two stories high, with sharp roofs, and with their gable-ends to the streets. A few were of brick covered with tiles—materials brought from Europe. The streets were narrow, crooked, and irregular; they were thronged with swine and dogs; in summer they were overgrown with weeds, and in winter obstructed with ice or mud.

§ 79. *Character of the inhabitants.*

In the report of Governor Dongan, already referred to, there is also a statement as to the composition of

society in the province. "For the last seven years," he writes, (that is, from 1680,) "there have not come over to this province twenty English, Scotch, or Irish families. On Long Island, the people increase so fast that they complain for want of land, and many remove thence to the neighboring provinces. Several French families have lately come from the West Indies, and from England, and a great many more are expected, and also several Dutch families from Holland, so that the number of foreigners greatly exceeds the king's natural-born subjects."

The French immigrants here spoken of were chiefly exiled Huguenots, who had fled from their own country to escape the persecution that followed the repeal of the edict of Nantes, by which religious liberty had been secured to the Protestants. Many of these immigrants remained permanently in the city, and constituted a valuable portion of its early population. Others located themselves at New-Rochelle, at Haverstraw, and on Staten Island, where they constituted orderly and valuable communities, out of which have arisen some of the best families and most eminent citizens of the province and State of New-York.

§ 80. *Morals and religion.*

Governor Dongan's statement of the religious condition of the city is not very flattering, though probably as much so as the state of the case would justify. Of ministers, there was a chaplain belonging to the fort of the Church of England, a Dutch Calvinist, a French Calvinist, and a Lutheran, in the city. Of the ecclesiastical distribution of the inhabitants, he remarks, "There are not many of the Church of En-

gland, few Catholics, abundance of Quaker preachers, men and women, especially singing Quakers, ranting Quakers, Sabbatarians, Anti-Sabbatarians, some Anabaptists, some Independents, some Jews; in short, of all sorts of opinions there are some, and the most part of none at all. The most prevailing opinion is that of the Dutch Calvinists. It is the endeavor of all persons here to bring up their children and servants in that opinion which themselves profess, but I observe they take no care for the conversion of their slaves."

§ 81. *Another account.*

A further account of the ecclesiastical and moral condition of New-York is given in a letter addressed to the Bishop of London, by the Rev. John Miller, who was for three years a resident of the province as chaplain to the king's forces. The reverend gentleman's statements give even a darker coloring to matters than the governor's. Viewing everything with the eyes of an exclusive Churchman, he could find very little to approve in all the various sects with which the province abounded. Especially was he scandalized by the irregular method of conducting ecclesiastical matters in the towns on Long Island, where, though nearly every parish had its minister, yet, as these had no episcopal ordination, they were styled "only pretended ministers." Nor is the account given of the ministers of the English Church more flattering. "There are here, and also in other provinces," writes the reverend chaplain, "many of them, such as, being of a vicious life and conversation, have played so many vile pranks, and show such an ill light, as have been very prejudicial to religion in

general, and to the Church of England in particular." He also complains "of the great negligence of divine things that is generally found in the people, of what sect or sort soever they pretend to be."

"In a soil so rank as this," continues the writer, "no marvel if the Evil One finds a ready entertainment for the seed he is ready to cast in; and from a people so inconstant and regardless of heaven and holy things, no wonder if God withdraw his grace, and give them up a prey to those temptations which they so industriously seek to embrace." "It is, in this country, a common thing for the meanest persons, so soon as the bounty of God has furnished them with a plentiful crop, to turn what they earn, as soon as may be, into money, and that money into drink, while their families at home have nothing but rags to protect them from the winter's cold. And if the fruits of their plantations are such as are readily converted into liquor, they can scarcely wait till it is fit for drinking, but, inviting their pot-companions, they all of them, neglecting whatever work they are about, set to it together, and give not over till they have drunk it off. And to these sottish engagements they will make nothing to ride ten or twenty miles; and at the conclusion of one debauch another is generally appointed, except their stock of liquor fail them. Nor are the mean or country people only guilty of this vice, but they are equaled, nay, surpassed, by many in the city of New-York, whose daily practice is to frequent taverns; and to carouse and game, their night employment. This course is the ruin of many merchants, especially those of the younger sort, who, carrying out with them a stock, whether as factors or on

their own account, spend even to prodigality, till they find themselves bankrupt ere they are aware."

"In a town where this course of life is led by many, it is no wonder if there be other vices in vogue, because they are the natural product of it—such as cursing and swearing, to both of which people are here much accustomed—some doing it in that frequent, horrid, and dreadful manner, as if they prided themselves both as to the number and invention of them. This, joined to their profane, atheistical, and scoffing method of discourse, makes their company extremely uneasy to sober and religious men."

§ 82. *The remedy.*

As a remedy for these crying evils, and many others that he enumerates, the reverend chaplain proposed a plan worthy of the times and the men with whom he was associated as a Christian minister. It was, "to send over a bishop to the province of New-York, duly qualified, commissioned, and empowered, as suffragan to 'my lord of London,' to take with him five or six sober young ministers, with Bibles and prayer books—the bishop to be appointed governor, on a salary of £1,500; his majesty also to give him the farm in New-York, commonly called the King's Farm, as a seat for himself and his successors."

§ 83. *Governor Fletcher's efforts toward improvement.*

It will be recollected that at about the time this letter was written Governor Fletcher was endeavoring to effect something toward improving the moral and religious condition of the province. The building of churches at the public expense was a part of his plan;

he also designed to introduce ministers and schoolmasters of the Church of England; but by his partiality toward his own religious predilections he became involved in disputes with the people of the province, who had little favor for that form of Church order and worship. At his instance laws were enacted prohibiting the profanation of the Lord's day, by traveling, labor, fishing, hunting, horse-racing, or frequenting tippling houses, and also against drunkenness. Other vices notoriously prevalent in the province, though prohibited by law in other provinces, were left unnoticed, probably because they were thought to be too deeply seated to be effaced by legal remedies. The events would seem to prove, that however necessary such reformatory measures might have been, the governor carried the use of legal restraints as far as the people would bear them.

§ 84. *Summary view of society.*

The social aspect of the city of New-York at the advent of the eighteenth century was very far from being flattering. The population was composed of the rudest and most heterogeneous materials. The largest class was the native Dutch, children of the original colonists, who had grown up among the corrupting influences of a rude state of society, without education, and untamed by even the simplest social refinements. Their manners and morals appear to have corresponded to their characters. Their lives were spent in low pleasures and gross sensual indulgences, varied by seasons of toil, and sufferings from diseases and poverty. A large portion of the English population was little better. Between the Dutch and the

English but little good-fellowship subsisted. The former considered themselves the proper heads of the social body, and looked upon all others as intruders and low adventurers, seeking wealth or pleasure in indolence and reckless amusements. The latter esteemed the Dutch as a conquered race, too stupid to share in the direction of public affairs, and unworthy to be admitted to social equality with themselves. The foreigners were a mixed class, in which the national customs, languages, and religious creeds of each were maintained, but all of them degenerated and depraved. Few of the natives were able to read and write, and for those who could there was scarcely any reading matter to be obtained. In such a state of things, moral and social degradation could not fail to characterize the community.

CHAPTER V.

CONDITION AND PROGRESS—1700 TO 1770.

§ 85. *The city as it was in 1700.*

WITH the opening of the eighteenth century, the city of New-York entered upon a course of steady, though moderate progress toward its present state of greatness and prospective increase. In population it had attained a size corresponding to that of a middle class country village of the present time, though in wealth and social advancement it was doubtless much below that standard. Its population was made up of immigrants from several countries in Europe, or the children of such immigrants, having all the characteristics of their several nationalities. The fusing process by which this heterogeneous mass has been reduced to its present homogeneousness had not then advanced to any considerable degree.

§ 86. *Composition of the population.*

The largest division of the inhabitants were of Dutch origin, though the natives of the British islands and their descendants nearly equaled the original Dutch population. A considerable number of Swedes and other Scandinavians had been brought from the Swedish colony on the Delaware, and were settled in the city and its vicinity. The French Protestants also constituted a very respectable body in the population of the city and province: while a considerable number of Jews and other refugees from religious persecution contributed to the motley character of the

social body. And last of all, of the population of the city, amounting in all to less than five thousand, about eight hundred were negroes, mostly slaves. Such were the conflicting elements of the social and political body of our infant metropolis, one hundred and fifty years ago—of which it were too much to expect that its action would be altogether harmonious. The process by which most of these classes have since become amalgamated, was then in its incipiency, and it is not strange that the fermentation caused some disquiet.

§ 87. *Lord Cornbury's administration.*

Lord Bellemont, the late popular governor, died early in the year 1701, and was buried in Trinity church-yard. After his death the colonists were broken up into factions, the soldiers in the garrison became mutinous, and a violent party spirit prevailed among all classes. Next year Lord Cornbury, son of the Earl of Clarendon, and grandson of the celebrated statesman and historian of that name, arrived in the province, bearing a royal commission as governor of New-York and New-Jersey. Though descended from an illustrious family, the new governor possessed very few qualities adapted to awaken the admiration of his subjects, or to commend the excellence of hereditary dignities. A profligate in life and character, he had been a burden to his friends at home, and was now sent abroad that he might be out of the reach of his creditors. He immediately identified himself with one of the leading factions in the province, and succeeded in procuring the election of an assembly having a majority of his own party. Two

thousand pounds were voted by this assembly, ostensibly to pay the expense of the governor's voyage from England, but really as a present, and his annual salary fixed at \$4,000—more than double the amount ever before allowed to a provincial governor. Soon after a large sum was voted to fortify the harbor, and the expenditure of it intrusted to the governor; but the fortifications were not made, nor was the money ever satisfactorily accounted for.

§ 88. *Troubles about Church matters.*

Cornbury was zealous for the Church of England, and denied the right of preachers and schoolmasters to exercise their functions in the province without a bishop's license. He accordingly caused two Presbyterian missionaries, sent out by some dissenters in England, to be arrested; but the jury acquitted them in the face of the evidence proving the charges laid against them, and the verdict was greeted by the people with a shout of applause. The governor's unpopularity continued to increase during the whole course of his administration, and, after many and strong remonstrances had been sent to England against him, he was at length dismissed from office in 1708, and immediately seized by his creditors and thrown into prison. But the death of his father, soon after, made him a British peer, and, quitting the debtors' jail, he assumed his seat in the House of Lords.

§ 89. *An epidemic in New-York.*

During the months of June and July, 1703, the city of New-York suffered from an epidemic, for the first time of which we have any account. No less than

seventeen persons lay dead and unburied at the same time—a very large number compared with the whole population. Among the victims were the mayor of the city and other distinguished citizens. The general assembly met at Jamaica, on Long Island; the people removed from the city, and a general alarm prevailed.

§ 90. *The King's Farm given to Trinity Church.*

Reference has several times been made to the farm on Manhattan Island, originally the property of the Dutch West India Company, and known successively as the Company's, the Duke's, the King's and Queen's Farm. This farm was now presented by Queen Anne to the new English Church recently completed in New-York, and incorporated by an act of the assembly. In process of time this farm became covered with buildings, which, let on long leases, produce a large revenue, and render Trinity Church the most wealthy ecclesiastical corporation in the country.

§ 91. *Growth of the city.*

The internal affairs of the city present but few notable points about these times. The population increased gradually but slowly, only at the rate of about twenty-five per cent in ten years. In 1732 the number had reached eight thousand six hundred and twenty-four, and the dwellings about one thousand four hundred. The only building specially noticed by the chroniclers of the early part of the past century, as erected during its first ten years, was “a *rope-walk* in Broadway, opposite the Common, covered with bushes and brushwood.” The Presbyterian church in

Wall-street was erected in 1720, the Middle Dutch church (now occupied as the Post-office) in 1729, and the Jews' synagoguc in Mill-street in 1730. About the same time a lot of ground, one hundred and twelve feet long and fifty wide, situated to the south of Chatham-square, was granted to the Jews for a burying-ground.

§ 92. *New streets—sales of real estate.*

Public improvements during this period advanced very slowly. In 1729 Rector-street and others to the south were laid out and regulated. Cortlandt-street was opened by the proprietors, and registered as a highway, in 1732; and about the same time Water-street first appears among the public ways of the city. The price of land was steadily advancing, and attention began to be directed to the public domain in the vicinity of the city. In 1728 "that little island in the Fresh Water was appropriated as the most suitable place for building thereon a magazine and powder-house." About this time ten lots, each twenty-five by one hundred and twenty feet, "in the Swamp, near the cripple-bush," were sold to Jacob Roosevelt at ten pounds each, through which Roosevelt-street was afterward opened. The same individual, a few years later, purchased the whole of Beekman's Swamp for one hundred pounds, through which he soon after opened Ferry-street. In 1732 there was a sale of seven lots on Whitehall-street, near the Custom-house, at prices ranging from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty pounds—a great advance upon the prices paid a few years before. About this time a small gore of land, one hundred and three feet in length,

(at the junction of Liberty-street and Maiden-lane,) was given to Rip Van Dam, on his petition, for the sum of ten shillings, "being of little or no value to any one else but him." From 1732 to 1740 the increase of houses in the city was only sixteen.

§ 93. *The first newspapers.*

The first regular newspaper in the city was a small weekly sheet called "The Gazette," issued in the year 1725. At first this was designed to serve only as a medium of commercial intelligence and general news. But during the controversy between Governor Cosby and his partisans on one side, and the council and people on the other, this paper was used by the governor as a political organ. This led to the establishment of a rival paper—the "Weekly Journal," published by John Peter Zenger—which was filled with articles freely criticising the conduct of the governor and his supporters, and denying the legality of certain recent acts of the administration. Not satisfied with replying through the Gazette, Cosby ordered the Journal to be burned by the sheriff, imprisoned the publisher, and prosecuted him for libel. The only two lawyers in the city who would undertake his defense were excluded from the profession for calling in question the authority of the court, and Zenger seemed to be in danger of lacking proper counsel in his defense. But on the day of trial, to the dismay of the prosecutors, the venerable Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, a Quaker lawyer of great eminence and speaker of the assembly of Pennsylvania, appeared for the defense. Hamilton first offered to prove the truth of the alleged libel, but, according to English prece-

dents, this was disallowed. He then appealed to the personal knowledge of the jury; no evidence, he contended, was necessary—the facts were notorious, and the jury knew the statements in question to be correct, and they ought to feel themselves obliged to Zenger for having exposed them, as the cause was the common interest of the whole province. In spite of the instructions of the court to the jury to convict Zenger, they, without leaving their seats, rendered a verdict of acquittal, which was responded to by shouts of applause from the people. The freedom of the colonial press was thus vindicated; but, as too often happens in such cases, the poor printer, having served a purpose, was left to struggle, overwhelmed with debts, the victim of official odium.

§ 94. *The negro plot.*

The year 1741 is noted in the annals of our city as the time of the celebrated negro plot, and the terrible effects of that delusion. It should be observed that nearly thirty years before this there had been a similar panic in the city relative to a negro insurrection, at which time nineteen unhappy wretches were sacrificed by the popular phrensy. But the delusion of the latter period was yet more fatal in its consequences. Whether, indeed, there was any plot at all, among any portion of the blacks, is exceedingly doubtful; there is no ground at all for the suspicion that there was any of a formidable character.

§ 95. *How the panic began.*

The city of New-York, at the time of this remarkable excitement, contained a population of about eight thousand, of which from twelve to fifteen hundred

were negroes—and most of these slaves. On the 18th of March a fire occurred in the fort, which consumed the secretary's office and the Dutch church. About a week later another, though inconsiderable fire occurred, and within two or three weeks later some half dozen more, most of them however only the burning of chimneys. These frequent fires, together with a prevalent belief that a great deal of petty robbery was carried on by the negroes, with the aid of certain white men, gave rise first to a general uneasiness, which soon increased to a panic. This was greatly heightened by a public proclamation offering a reward of a hundred pounds for the discovery of the incendiaries. The reward was too tempting to be long resisted. An indented servant-woman soon after obtained her freedom and the hundred pounds by pretending to divulge a plot formed by her master, a low tavern-keeper, named Hughson, and three negroes, to burn the city and murder the entire white population. This information was like a spark among tinder. The whole population was thrown into a paroxysm of rage and fear. The militia paraded the streets almost continually; the accused parties were arrested and hurried away to the jail, and the utmost rage against the negroes inflamed every breast. So intense was the panic that the most unreasonable and contradictory statements were greedily caught up, and the least suspicious circumstances were construed as plain evidence against the accused.

§ 96. *Its progress.*

When the panic was once fairly begun, it readily supplied itself with the necessary stimulants. The

prize obtained by the servant-woman became an object of envy, and soon further pretended revelations were made. An Irish woman of infamous character, who had been convicted of a robbery, was tempted to turn informant by a promise of pardon. In this manner the matter grew and extended. Informants increased on every hand, and though their tales were quite inconsistent, all were greedily received by the magistrates and people. In a very short time a hundred and fifty-four negroes and twenty whites were committed to prison, as accomplices in the pretended conspiracy.

§ 97. *Nature and agents of the pretended plot.*

The pretended design of this fabulous plot was never very definitely made out. As darkly shadowed forth in the statements of the hired informants, there seemed to be a design to destroy the city and murder the white population, so as to afford free living to the blacks and the white conspirators. The infamous Irish woman implicated Hughson and his wife and daughter, and confessed that she herself had entered into the conspiracy. At length several other white persons were accused by her, especially one Ury, an English Episcopal clergyman, but acting as a school-master—who had fled from his own country to escape persecution, because he would not acknowledge the right of the reigning family. The case of Ury was peculiarly a hard one. He was entirely unconnected with the infamous gang to which most of the white victims of this delusion belonged; and he had at hand the means, could he have been heard, to prove his entire innocence. In the pretended revelations of this

Irish courtesan, Ury was declared to be a disguised jesuitical priest; yet he was able to prove the contrary beyond a question, and to trace his history continuously from the beginning to the time of his arrest. But the object of trial at that time was not to come at the truth, but simply as a formality preparatory to the infliction of death.

§ 98. *Proceedings of the courts.*

There were at that time only eight lawyers in New-York, all of whom volunteered their services to the government, and assisted by turns in the prosecution, leaving the miserable prisoners without the aid of counsel. To obtain the required evidence upon which to base a sentence, pardon and freedom were offered to any who would turn king's evidence, and by this means any amount of testimony, to almost any fact, could be obtained. While there was no one to say a single word for the accused, the lawyers vied with each other in scurrility, in heaping abuse upon them, in which they were only outdone by the judge, when he came to pass sentence. Many purchased their own lives by confessing their participation in crimes of which it was afterward proved they knew nothing, and accusing others; and, strangest of all, some confessed at the stake their guilt, who knew nothing of the things with which they were charged.

As the result of this bloody delusion, thirteen were burned, eighteen hanged, and seventy were transported. The public thirst for blood seemed now to be somewhat satisfied, and the phrensy began to abate; a reaction at length ensued, and the persons remaining in prison were set at liberty.

§ 99. *How the case appeared afterward.*

No sooner had the popular excitement subsided, than it became evident that the proceedings had been precipitate, and highly improper. As to the fires in chimneys, none but partially insane persons could suspect that incendiaries would seek by such means to burn up a city; and the fire in the fort could be traced, with almost absolute certainty, to an accidental cause. Just before that fire occurred, a plumber had been at work mending the roof of one of the buildings in the fort, having a pot of burning coals, from which a high wind was scattering sparks about the building. It was also seen that the testimony that had been used was wholly unreliable, since nearly all the witnesses had been bought up by rewards and immunities of such magnitude as to be sufficient to corrupt any but those of the severest virtue. It soon came to be doubted whether, if there had really been any conspiracy at all, its extent had not been greatly overrated—a matter as to which there can now be no question.

§ 100. *Proximate causes.*

A variety of causes united to create the delusion that resulted so fatally, and so deeply disgraced the good people of New-York. The mass of the people were extremely ignorant, and the usual accompaniments of popular ignorance, unreasonable prejudices and cruel bigotry, seem to have pervaded all classes. Illiberality was a prevailing characteristic of the age, favored in this case by the almost perfect isolation of the colonial settlements. The prevailing antipathy toward the Church of Rome, which was then cherished

as a sacred religious and patriotic sentiment, contributed its violence to the prevailing phrensy. A non-juring schoolmaster, suspected, as already shown, but without any good reason, of being a disguised Jesuit priest, was accused of stimulating the negroes to revolt and burn the city, with assurances of immunity against future punishment by absolution; for which he suffered the extreme penalty of the law. Most of the inhabitants of New-York knew nothing of Roman Catholics but from the tales of horror related by their ancestors of the cruelties of the Spaniards in Holland, or of gunpowder plots and Smithfield burnings in England; and therefore the suspicion that fell upon the poor schoolmaster was not only fatal to himself, but invested the whole affair with a deeper shade of bloody atrocity.

§ 101. *Primary cause.*

But the primary cause of this cruel tragedy is doubtless to be found in the unnatural and oppressive relations of the two races. A consciousness in the mind of the oppressor that he is constantly inflicting a wrong upon the victims of his injustice begets in him a sense of guilt, and consequently of danger. Men always reckon those enemies whom they injure, and dread the occasion when the injured party may seize the opportunity to vindicate their long-deferred rights. Thus a suspiciousness is inseparable from such a relation, rendering the mind sensitive to the most vague intimation of danger, and suggesting the dreaded cause as operating to produce every fortuitous event that may transpire. There is but little doubt that this cause was powerfully active in producing the

panic and the cruelties of this pretended or real negro plot.

§ 102. *Attention to the cause of education.*

The interests of education were but little regarded by our ancestors till a comparatively recent period; and the idea of diffusing intelligence among the masses seems not to have existed among them at that time. Schools for the education of the children of the common people were unknown, and comparatively few could read intelligibly or write their own names. In 1702 a grammar-school was established by the corporation, and a master sent for to the Bishop of London, "as there was not any person within this city (with whose convenience it would be agreeable) proper and duly qualified to take upon himself the office of schoolmaster in said city." The school thus established continued in existence; in some form, throughout the colonial period of the country, and became the nucleus around which were collected the original elements of Columbia College. But the advantages of such a school were necessarily confined to the more opulent families, while the poorer and middling classes were quite without educational facilities. As a necessary consequence of this state of things, there was a prevailing amount of popular ignorance, with its accompaniments of rudeness and illiberality, that can now be only faintly apprehended by the more favored people of this metropolis at the present time.

A library of one thousand six hundred and forty-two volumes, a gift from Dr. Millington, of London, to the corporation of the city of New-York, was received through the Society for Propagating the Gospel in

Foreign Parts, in 1729, which was duly accepted and arranged in a room appropriated for that purpose in the City Hall. This was the first public library ever established in New-York. It was afterward used as a circulating library, the books being loaned to the citizens at sixpence a volume for a week. The New-York Society Library was founded, for a like purpose, in 1740.

§ 103. *Increase of general intelligence.*

The establishment of the first newspaper in the city has been already noticed. That was, however, at first rather a mercantile and political affair than a movement in behalf of learning. But the incidental and at length direct influence of a free press upon the cause of general intelligence, soon became too evident to escape general observation. A very marked change in the matter of general intelligence among the inhabitants of New-York took place during the forty years preceding the war of the Revolution. This intellectual progress of the masses led to a higher appreciation of popular liberty, and a more fearless assertion of the rights of individual freedom.

§ 104. *Political affairs.*

The political history of New-York city for thirty years before the beginning of the Revolution, is almost wholly destitute of incidents of general interest. A succession of royal governors, and, at frequent intervals, lieutenant-governors, who were generally citizens of the province, held the chief direction of public affairs—between whom and the assembly there were almost perpetual contests for the ascend-

ency. But the history of the province and that of the city had ceased to be identical; the city had attained to an individuality of its own, and the increase of the province beyond the city gave a more general character to provincial affairs. The city was still the seat of the provincial government, and the residence of the governor and other principal officers: but the municipal affairs were almost exclusively managed by the local officers of the corporation, who were more or less directly dependent on the popular suffrages, and in many cases in a good degree imbued with the popular spirit. The period under notice was, in a variety of aspects, one of slow but steady social progress.

§ 105. *Enlargement of the city.*

During the ten years from 1740 to 1750, the progress of the city was much more considerable than during the decade immediately preceding. About four hundred houses were added in that time, and the population advanced in about the same ratio, though very few public buildings were erected for a long period down to the year 1750. In that year we hear of the first theater ever established in New-York, and from this time the increase of public edifices was rapid. The Moravian church in Fair (Fulton) street was founded in 1751, and St. George's, in Beekman-street, the next year. About the same time the new Exchange at the head of Broad-street was built by private subscription. King's (Columbia) College was founded two years later. About the same time a new market was built "on the west side of Broadway near Dey-street," called "the Oswego Market,"—the predecessor of the present Washington Market. In 1757,

a large number of troops being assembled in the city, barracks, capable of holding eight hundred men, were built for their accommodation, "on the Commons, between the jail and Catiemut's Hill,"—now the block of ground bounded by Centre, Chambers, and Chatham-streets. The building was four hundred and twenty feet long, twenty-one wide, and two stories high. In 1760 the Baptist church in Gold-street was built, and five years later St. Paul's chapel in Broadway. In 1766 the Presbyterian Church petitioned for the "angular lot, lately called the vineyard," alleging the great increase of that persuasion, and their consequent need of an additional place of worship; and the land asked for was granted at a rent of forty pounds per annum, upon which shortly afterward was erected the brick church in Beekman-street, which was at first called the "Brick church in the fields." The same year a German Lutheran church was built in "the Swamp," on the corner of William and Frankfort-streets: a year later the Scotch church in Cedar-street was erected: the next year the Methodist church in John-street—the first of that denomination in America: and in 1769 the North Dutch church in William-street. With this list end all public improvements of any note till after the war of independence.

§ 106. *Map of the city for 1729.*

The best notion of the progress of the city, during the period embraced in this chapter, may be gotten by comparing a series of maps presenting plans of the city at several distant periods. In a former chapter such a map for the year 1695 was described; to this will now be added a notice of a plan of the city as it

appeared in 1729, and again in 1763. As shown by the former of these, New-York at that time extended no farther westward than Broadway, except that a little above Trinity church two or three streets were projected, designed to reach down to the river, along which a few small houses had been built. To the eastward the city pressed hard down upon the water, and below Great Queen (Pearl) street was a line of houses fronting on the water, the rudiments of the future Water-street. Within the last thirty years the city had grown out beyond the line of the old city-wall. King (Pine) street, running along the outside of the old palisade, had become a well-occupied street. Farther up, Crown (Liberty) street, Maiden-lane, and Golden Hill, (John-street,) began to bear the aspect of city thoroughfares, and scattered houses were found along Fair, (Fulton,) Ann, and Beekman-streets, though as yet these were but partially opened and regulated. Of the avenues leading into and out of the city, Broadway extended only to the Common at the south-west angle of the Park, while Kip (Nassau) street, though only partially regulated, came up along its eastern side and united with the "High-road to Boston." William-street formed a kind of central avenue, reaching from the Vley to the open fields above Beekman's Swamp, while Great Queen-street skirted the East River as far up as the high ground now occupied by Franklin-square, whence a country road connected it with the stage-road for Boston, near the "Fresh Water." Beyond the city, to the north-west, lay "the King's Farm," as yet only a farm; in the middle was the Common, having the Fresh Water beyond it; and beyond this, to the north-east, was a

high range of wooded hills, near the homestead of the Bayard family, and hence called Bayard Mount. To the south of the Fresh Water, and just above the outskirts of the town, was Beekman's Swamp, still an unsubdued thicket—and yet farther eastward was the great swamp and meadow, then in all its original wildness.

§ 107. *Public buildings of this period.*

The prominent public edifices shown in the map under notice are: the fort, including within its walls the king's chapel, the governor's house, and the secretary's office; Trinity church on Broadway, and just below it, on the same side, the Lutheran church; the old Dutch church on Garden-street, and the new one on the corner of Nassau and Crown-streets. The Quakers had a house of worship on Nassau-street, and the Baptists near the head of Cliff-street: on Wall-street, near Broadway, was the Presbyterian church, and on Mill-street the Jews' synagogue. The Custom-house stood on Dock-street, fronting Whitehall-slip: the Exchange at the foot of Broad-street, and the City Hall at its head. At the head of Countess's Key (Coenties-slip) was the fish-market; the meat-market was at the foot of Wall-street, and Old-slip market at the foot of William-street.

§ 108. *Aspect of the city at that time.*

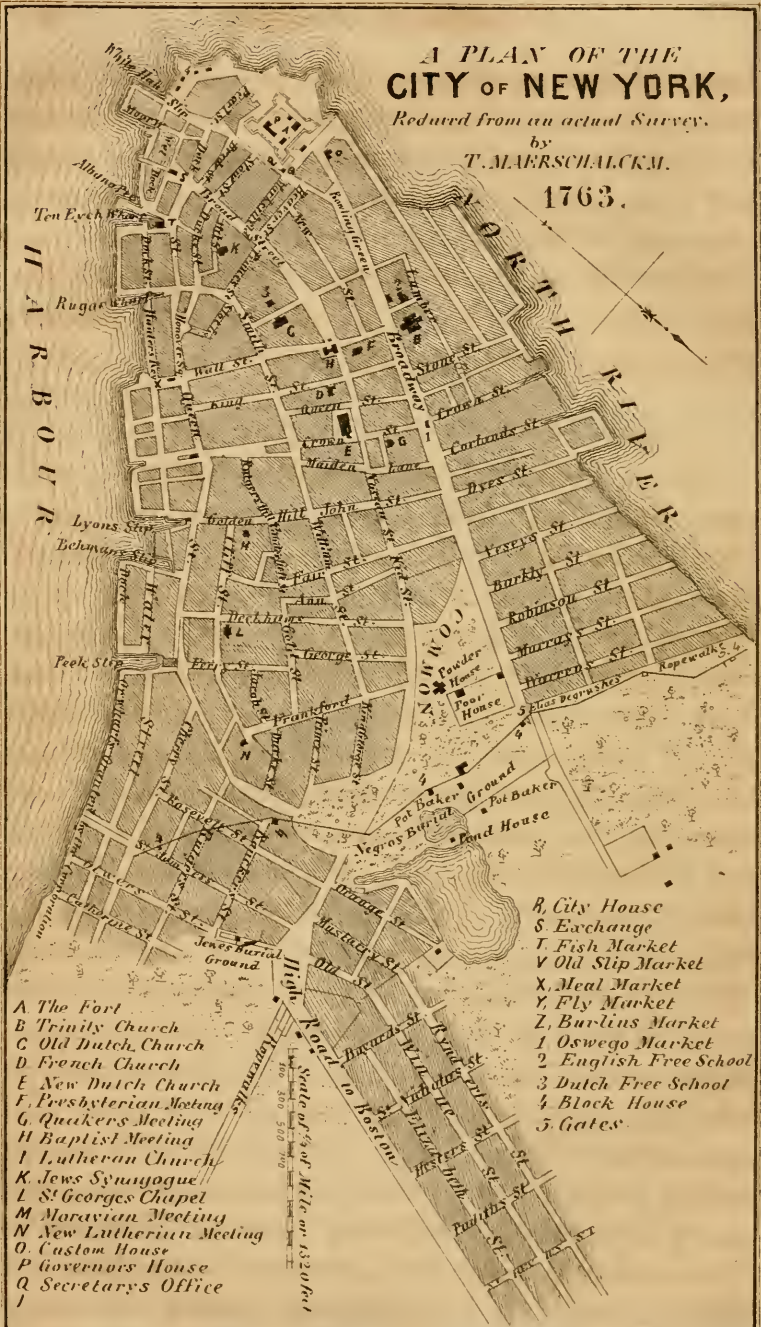
At this time (1729) the population of the city was little more than eight thousand, and the number of dwellings about fourteen hundred. For the next twenty years the progress of the city was inconsiderable, so that one may justly figure to himself the

A PLAN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,

Reduced from an actual Survey.

by T. MAERSCHALCKM.

1763.



- A The Fort
- B Trinity Church
- C Old Dutch Church
- D French Church
- E New Dutch Church
- F Presbyterian Meeting
- G Quakers Meeting
- H Baptist Meeting
- I Lutheran Church
- K Jews Synagogue
- L St Georges Chapel
- M Moravian Meeting
- N New Lutheran Meeting
- O Custom House
- P Governors House
- Q Secretarys Office

- R City House
- S Exchange
- T Fish Market
- V Old Slip Market
- X Meal Market
- Y Fly Market
- Z Burlins Market
- 1 Oswego Market
- 2 English Free School
- 3 Dutch Free School
- 4 Block House
- 5 Gates

image of this great city, as it was a hundred years ago, as that of a rudely-constructed village of scarcely ten thousand inhabitants, with ten places of public worship, of almost as many different denominations, and most of them of very limited proportions; and the few other public buildings of equally insignificant proportions. The day of its progress had not yet dawned upon the future Empire City.

§ 109. *Map of the city for 1763.*

The next map of New-York, dated in 1763, indicates that a very considerable progress had occurred in a few years preceding that date. The plan of the city on the west side of Broadway extends up to Warren-street. Farther east it included all between the High-road to Boston (Chatham-street) and the East River,—Beekman's Swamp had wholly disappeared. The spirit of improvement had also invaded the Great Meadow, across which, from north to south, were laid out Roosevelt, James, and portions of Oliver and Catharine-streets, and, from west to east, Water, Cherry, Rutger's, (Oak,) and Bancker's (Madison)-streets. Several streets had also been laid out along the High-road, beyond the Fresh Water, long since occupied as a portion of the city. Many of these improvements were indeed as yet only prospective; but they indicate a quickened spirit of enterprise among the citizens. The third quarter of the eighteenth century was to New-York a season of prosperity far exceeding anything that had preceded it. The population which in the course of a hundred and forty years had, in 1750, scarcely reached nine thousand, in 1773 numbered nearly twenty-two thousand.

A like progress was made in nearly every department of the city's affairs. This has been shown in the rapid multiplication of churches and other public buildings, in the extension of streets, and the increase of the aggregate area of the city, and could be made still more evident by an exhibition of the increased wealth, intelligence, and public spirit of the citizens. The stimulating cause of all this prosperity remains yet to be noticed.

§ 110. *Commerce of New-York.*

From the beginning New-York has been a commercial city, and its increase and stability have always depended upon its commercial prosperity. Of late its trade had greatly increased. Its ships visited many foreign ports; and no town in America, not excepting Philadelphia, surpassed it in the extent of its commercial operations. The whole amount of its imports for the year 1769 was a little short of a million dollars,—a great advance from that of previous years; and though it seems small compared with the immense aggregates now realized, yet, compared with the population, the disproportion is much less remarkable. At that time about one-tenth of all the foreign commerce of the British American colonies centred at New-York, which proportion has gradually increased till nearly one-fourth of the whole foreign trade of the United States is found at that port. The effects of this commercial prosperity were felt in all the affairs of the city. Increase of wealth brought with it an improved style of building, an increase of public work, greater attention to personal appearance and manners, and at length more attention to education.

§ 111. *Religious affairs—Presbyterians.*

A change in the moral and religious affairs of New-York, not less gratifying than that of its commerce and pecuniary business, was carried forward during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The spiritless monotony that had marked nearly all the churches of the city from the beginning was now interrupted, and a more fervid style of address introduced into the pulpit, and a spirit of earnestness began to pervade the religious assemblies. This was especially the case with the Presbyterian Church in Wall-street, of which Rev. John Rogers was for a long time pastor. Probably few individuals have conferred so large favors upon our city as did that pious and active minister; and to him is the city generally, and the cause of religion and good morals especially, and, above all, the Presbyterian denomination in New-York, greatly indebted. The increase of the Church in Wall-street was so great that the place was found insufficient for the congregation that sought to avail themselves of the privileges of public worship in that place; and this led to the establishment of a second congregation—the brick church in Beekman-street, founded in the year 1767. The new religious life that had been infused into the staid congregation of that church led to a modification of some of the old time-honored forms of the Presbyterian Church, and especially to the substitution of Watt's Hymns instead of the uncouth version of the Psalms of David formerly in use. But such innovations were viewed with horror and alarm by the more rigid adherents of the ancient forms of the Presbyterian Church. A secession had consequently taken place some years previous,

and the separatists about this time organized an independent ecclesiastical body, and erected the First Scotch Presbyterian Church in Cedar-street.

§ 112. *The Reformed Dutch Church.*

The same influences that so greatly and advantageously affected the Presbyterian Church in New-York, extended also, though in a less degree, to the Dutch Calvinist Churches. These Churches—the original religious denomination of the province—had well maintained their ascendancy and relative numbers in the city. Instead of the original edifice within the walls of the fort, a new one was erected, in 1693, on Garden-street, near Broad-street, which was greatly enlarged in 1766. Another, commonly known as the Middle Dutch Church, situated at the corner of Cedar and Nassau-streets, (now occupied as the post-office,) was built in 1729; and now (1769) yet another, known as the North Dutch Church, was erected at the corner of William and Fair (Fulton) streets. All of these several Churches and congregations formed one ecclesiastical corporation, and enjoyed a common pastorate, which important office was held by the venerated Dr. Livingston. Under his wise and judicious administration, and by the influence of his Christian zeal and fidelity, the rigid formalism of these ancient Churches was brought into a more practical approximation to the spirit of the times, and into sympathy with the newly-awakened religious influences that were actuating other religious bodies in the city. The position thus given to that venerable denomination was, both immediately and prospectively, of the greatest importance to the religious affairs of New-York.





SAIL-LOFT IN WILLIAM-STREET.

§ 113. *The Methodists.*

During the latter portion of this period a religious movement was commenced in New-York which presently attracted some attention, and has since had a large share in directing religious affairs in all parts of the country. About the year 1766 the first Methodist society in America was formed in the city of New-York. Methodism had then existed in Great Britain as an organized body for nearly thirty years, and its "United Societies" were found in almost every part of the kingdom; but as yet no attempt had been made to plant that form of Christianity in this country. Whitefield had indeed visited this country in his missionary tours, and had borne with him the name and spirit of Methodism, but not its form. He had also labored with marked success in New-York, and was no doubt largely instrumental in promoting the changes already noticed, especially in the affairs of the Presbyterian Church. But hitherto Wesleyan Methodism was unknown in America. About this time a number of Irish immigrants, who had been connected with the Methodist body, and one of them a lay-preacher, came to New-York. These presently set up public worship, after the forms they had been accustomed to use in their own country, first in a private house, and afterward in a rigging-loft. The house thus rendered memorable, now, after the lapse of nearly a hundred years, is still standing, a relic of "the old time." It may be seen on the south-easterly side of William-street, about midway between John and Fulton-streets, and readily distinguished among the lofty modern edifices that surround it.

§ 114. *Embury and Captain Webb.*

The lay-preacher just spoken of was Mr. Philip Embury, who was by birth and education an Irishman, and by trade a house-carpenter. He appears to have been a man of true piety, and of very considerable good sense and energy of character. He naturally became the head and leader of the little company that held their social conventicles at his house; and with so much favor were these exercises regarded by those who were admitted to them, that soon more sought admittance to them than could find accommodations in the narrow limits of the dwelling of the mechanic preacher. This incited them to procure more ample accommodations, and accordingly the place in William-street was obtained for a house of public worship, where Embury officiated as minister. While the little society were occupying this humble place, an event occurred that suddenly gave no little notoriety to themselves and their unimposing chapel. Among the military forces then in the province was a Captain Webb, who held the office of master of the barracks at Albany. This officer had been connected with the Methodist societies in Great Britain, and was licensed to officiate as a lay-preacher. At the time now under notice Captain Webb was in New-York, and having introduced himself to Mr. Embury, was by him introduced to the assembly in the "rigging-loft," to whom he preached in his military costume. The novelty of the thing, together with the deference that was felt for an officer bearing the king's commission, awakened much interest, and drew out many to hear the soldier-preacher in his subsequent ministrations. Afterward





JOHN-STREET METHODIST CHURCH.

Captain Webb was stationed at Jamaica, on Long Island, where a body of troops was then quartered. Here he continued his efforts as an evangelist, and thence also paid frequent visits to his friends in New-York, fully identifying himself with the little society under the care of Mr. Embury.

§ 115. *The first Methodist church.*

The zealous efforts of these unpretending evangelists were not without their fruits. The attendance of a large and respectable audience at the "loft" in William-street indicated the extent of the impression that had been made upon the public mind. The state of things in the city generally, as already noticed, favored this new enterprise, and in return received from it an increased impulse. The necessity of a more commodious place of worship began to be felt, and the practicability of procuring one to be discussed. The undertaking was a formidable one; but the necessity was seen to be imperative, and so an effort was made. A lot of ground was procured on a slight eminence to the east of Broadway, called Golden Hill, since traversed by the upper part of John-street, and on this a wooden building, forty by sixty feet in its dimensions, was erected. The funds required for this work were obtained by private donations from all classes of the citizens, together with a small sum sent by Mr. Wesley from England. Mr. Embury did much of the carpenter's work with his own hands, as well as superintended the whole business. The building was finished in the autumn of 1768, and dedicated to its sacred purpose by a sermon and other religious exercises, conducted by Mr. Embury.

§ 116. *Methodist preachers arrive from England.*

Thus far the little Methodist society had existed entirely unconnected with any other association, either at home or abroad. They, however, claimed to be an integral part of the great body of Wesleyan Methodists, then rapidly extending in all parts of Great Britain. Mr. Embury had thus far conducted the affairs of the little society with much discretion and ability; but as by the change of circumstances his little assembly assumed the character and aspects of a Church, requiring the services of a regularly authenticated minister of the gospel, he felt his inadequacy to the work thus thrown upon him, and wished some other to be intrusted with the weighty charge. A petition was accordingly sent out to Mr. Wesley, soliciting the appointment of one or more preachers to labor in America. Two individuals, Messrs. Pilmoor and Boardman, were therefore sent to take charge of the Methodist society in New-York, and to commence in America a system of itinerant evangelization, similar to that which had been so eminently successful in Great Britain. A few years later these were reinforced by additional missionaries from England, among whom was Mr. Francis Asbury, since the apostle of American Methodism, and one of the first bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. The present Methodist church in Johnstreet, erected in 1842, occupies the site of the original edifice, and is one of the few places of worship that has not yielded to the demands of the commercial interests of that portion of the city.

CHAPTER VI.

NEW-YORK DURING THE REVOLUTION.

§ 117. *First movements toward the Revolution.*

THE political history of the city of New-York, so quiet and devoid of interest for nearly half a century, became more active and exciting as the revolutionary struggle approached. No other town in all the American colonies had so much to lose by a rupture with the mother country; and except Boston only, no other entered into that contest with so much avidity and determination. But, as usual in such cases, the more wealthy citizens, and especially the great merchants, were averse to extreme measures of resistance. Here at least the revolutionary movements were led on by the common people, but for whose boldness and energy it is very probable the others would have submitted to the exactions of the British government.

§ 118. *Early resistance to British authority.*

The honor of being the first to resist the assumption, by the Parliament of Great Britain, of the right to tax the American colonies, has been very generally conceded to Boston and Massachusetts; but New-York may safely claim at least equality in that honor. When Lord Grenville's scheme for raising a revenue in America was first brought forward, nearly all the colonies remonstrated against it; but generally in tones so subdued, and with so many protestations of loyalty, as to rather assure than intimidate the exacting and rapacious home-government. But the

assembly of New-York spoke out in louder and more decided tones,—so much so that no member of the British Parliament would present their petition to that body. The spirit of the New-Yorkers was quickly taken by some of the other colonial assemblies. Rhode Island soon after echoed the language of New-York, and the Massachusetts leaders presently changed their protestations of loyalty and humble petitions for relief to language more befitting the character of freemen.

§ 119. *Opposition to the Stamp-act.*

In 1765 came the affair of the Stamp-act. By this law the government of Great Britain endeavored to raise a revenue in America by the sale of government stamps. To effect this it was ordered that all legal instruments, of whatever kind, should be written on paper bearing the stamp of the government; and for these stamps large sums were required in favor of the national exchequer.

The attempt to carry this measure into effect brought the affairs of the colonies to a crisis. In New-York the citizens took a most decided stand against it. Two companies paraded the streets on the evening of the first day of November, when the Stamp-act was to go into force, setting the police at defiance, and demanding the obnoxious stamps—which, on the resignation of the stamp-distributor, had been left with Colden, the lieutenant-governor, by whom they had been deposited for safe-keeping in the fort. Colden was hung in effigy; and, proceeding to a still more riotous course of action, the mob seized and burned his carriage under the muzzles of the guns of the fort.

The furniture of several other officers of the crown was also destroyed. Alarmed at these proceedings, and fearing for his personal safety, Colden at length gave up the stamped papers, which were conveyed to the City Hall and there deposited under the safe-keeping of the mayor of the city.

§ 120. *Captain Sears and the "Sons of Liberty."*

These tumultuous proceedings were instigated and led on, in a great measure, by Captain Isaac Sears, who had been the commander of a merchant ship, and subsequently of a privateer. His influence with the middle and lower classes was almost unbounded; which, together with his wealth and power of intrigue, made him formidable to the ruling party. To gain his favor for the government he was made an inspector of pot-ashes—an office of some consideration in the city. But he could not thus be bought off from his old associations and his love of liberty. He was of a rough and burly temper, fond of excitement, and had a most intense dislike of the effeminacy and rapacity of the government officials. Such a man was of course admirably fitted to become a popular favorite and leader in such stormy times as these.

An association of the friends of popular rights was formed about this time, called "Sons of Liberty," but more familiarly styled "Liberty Boys," of which Sears was the leading spirit. The members of this association were perpetually on the alert for any occasions of danger to the popular cause, nor were they over-scrupulous as to the means to be used either for prevention or cure. Yet they rendered most valuable service to the cause of American independence by their

determined opposition to the pretensions of the British rulers. The emblem of the "Sons of Liberty" was a mast, or pole, erected "in the fields," near the foot of the Park. This mast was styled the "Liberty-Pole," and it was the progenitor of the numberless representatives of the same family to be found in every part of the American republic.

§ 121. *Organized resistance to the law.*

The proceedings thus far had been carried on by the inferior classes of the people, headed by Captain Sears. The wealthier classes of the inhabitants met the next day and appointed a committee of five persons, of whom Sears was one, to correspond with the other colonies. This committee soon after recommended an agreement among all the colonies to import no more goods from Great Britain till the stamp-act should be repealed. This non-importation agreement, to which a non-consumption covenant was presently added, was numerously signed in New-York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Public business, which had been suspended for a while for the want of stamped paper, presently began to be transacted without it; and even the courts of justice were at length compelled to come into the same measure, and, by disregarding the demands of the Stamp-act, to aid in nullifying it. Thus the triumph of the popular cause was complete, and things moved on again in their usual quiet and good order.

§ 122. *Repeal of the Stamp-act.*

The news of the repeal of the Stamp-act, by the British Parliament, was celebrated at New-York with

the liveliest demonstrations of joy. Confidence seemed to spring up anew among the colonists toward the mother country, and all their loyalty to return upon them. A leaden equestrian statue of the king was ordered to be set up in the Bowling-green, and a full-length marble statue of Pitt was placed at the corner of Wall and William-streets. The sufferers by the late riots were indemnified for their losses, but no blame was cast upon the rioters,—an evident indication of the state of public sentiment in the matter.

But this season of good feeling was of but short duration; a new cause of irritation soon occurred. The policy adopted by the home-government toward the colonies induced a large increase of the military force in the chief towns in America. The several colonial assemblies were required to provide quarters for the troops that might be sent among them. With this demand the New-York Assembly refused to comply, and in retaliation the assembly were prohibited from legislating on any other subject till they had complied with the requirements of the quartering act. This failing of its object, the governor dissolved the assembly, and a new one, still more refractory, was chosen in its stead, which also was soon after dissolved.

§ 123. *New difficulties with the mother country.*

This contest was continued through two years with varied success. Many of the wealthier citizens, especially those belonging to the Church of England, alarmed at the evident tendency of things, at length began to relax in their opposition. At the next election for an assembly the moderate party made a great effort, and was successful. In the city of New-York,

Philip Livingston, a leading member in the two former assemblies, was defeated, and his friends were found in the minority in the new assembly. The point so fiercely contested hitherto was now yielded, and the required quarters provided for the royal troops.

This humiliating concession drew from Alexander M'Dougald, a leading spirit among the "Sons of Liberty," and afterward a major-general in the American army, an indignant "Address to the Betrayed Inhabitants of the City and Colony of New-York," calling a public meeting of the citizens to take the proceedings of the assembly into consideration. The assembly pronounced this address "a false, seditious, and infamous libel," and committed its author to prison, by which they at once increased the suspicion of their own lukewarmness in the popular cause, and rendered M'Dougald a martyr, and sent multitudes to visit him in his confinement. The soldiers revenged the cause of the assembly by cutting down the liberty-pole, which the patriots had erected at a place of popular rendezvous. The populace retorted the insult, and brawls became frequent between the inhabitants and the soldiers.

§ 124. *Continued growth of the city.*

These political agitations did not at once put a full stop to the commercial prosperity of the city, nor entirely suspend its advancement. New streets continued to be laid out and opened, and public improvements continued to be made up to the commencement of hostilities. Vandewater-street, in Beekman's Swamp, was first regulated in 1768; Warren-street in 1771; and in 1774 a street in front of the Common, "lead-

ing from St. Paul's church toward the Fresh Water," was opened and named after the popular Earl of Chatham. Very soon after this all improvements in the city gave place to the wasting desolations of war.

§ 125. *A tea party and an anti-tea party.*

As the difficulties between the colonies and the mother country increased, New-York became fully compromised in them. The tea tax, so famous on account of the course of resistance adopted at Boston, was scarcely less decidedly opposed at New-York. In 1773, a ship belonging to the East India Company was sent to New-York with a cargo of teas consigned to a mercantile house in that city; but, at the demand of a popular meeting, the consignees refused to act in the business, when the governor ordered it to be stored in the barracks. The vessel was compelled by stress of weather to put in at the West Indies, and so did not arrive till the next spring. Then the pilots at Sandy Hook, under instructions from the city committee, refused to bring her up, and a "Committee of Vigilance" soon after took possession of her, by whom she was brought up to the city, but was soon after ordered back again to Sandy Hook. Meanwhile another ship, commanded by a New-York captain, arrived, purporting to have no tea on board, and accordingly was permitted to come up to the city; but when it was afterward ascertained that there were eighteen chests on board, the indignant people seized and emptied it into the river. A few days after, with great parade, led by a band playing the British national air, while the bells were ringing and the flags flying from the liberty-pole and the shipping,

the captain of the East India tea ship was escorted from the Custom-house to a pilot boat which took him to the Hook, where, under the direction of the "Committee of Vigilance," the anchors were weighed and the vessel started on her homeward voyage.

§ 126. *A general congress called.*

Hitherto resistance in New-York to the aggressions of the home-government had been chiefly managed by the committee of correspondence, headed by Sears, and by the "Sons of Liberty"—a band composed chiefly of persons of the middle and lower classes, among whom were M'Dougald, Willett and Lamb, and upon whose discretion the more wealthy citizens did not place the fullest reliance. After the passage of the Boston Port Bill a public meeting was called, at which the old committee was dissolved and a new one chosen, consisting of fifty-one members, comprising some of the principal citizens. This committee, soon after, in a circular letter, proposed "a congress of deputies from all the colonies," to take into consideration the state of public affairs of common interest. The meeting of the proposed congress having been fixed for the first of September, and the provincial assembly refusing to send delegates, the appointment of deputies was undertaken by the committee of fifty-one, assisted by a committee of mechanics. Some difficulty occurred between the supporters of M'Dougald, the candidate of the "Sons of Liberty," and the friends of John Jay, a young lawyer of a rising reputation, who was supported by the upper classes. A poll was therefore opened under the supervision of the mayor and aldermen, at which all

tax-payers were allowed to vote. Livingston, Alsop, Law, Duane and Jay, the candidates of the more moderate party, were chosen, and the nominations thus made were confirmed and ratified in other parts of the province. A second congress having been called for the next year, (1775,) to which also the assembly refused to appoint delegates, a warm contest took place among the citizens, not wholly without violence, in an election for deputies to a provincial congress by which the delegates were to be appointed, in which the popular and more violent party were successful. This was the first open rupture between the political parties in the city; afterward the breach continued to widen, till it ended in an open rupture and sanguinary conflict.

§ 127. *First provincial congress.*

The provincial congress of New-York met accordingly in May, and was presided over by Nathaniel Woodhull, subsequently the hero of Long Island. Measures were adopted for putting the province in a state of defense, by enlisting troops and erecting fortifications, especially on Manhattan Island and the western extremity of Long Island. The congress also invited Wooster, with his Connecticut regiment, to assist in defending the city against the expected British troops, who accordingly came soon after with a thousand men. An encampment was formed by them at Harlem, and troops also were stationed on Long Island to guard against a surprise from that direction. The province of New-York, and especially the city, began now to assume a decidedly warlike attitude and appearance.

§ 128. *Trouble with a British man-of-war.*

The Asia man-of-war and several smaller vessels were all this time lying in the harbor, closely watching all that was going forward on shore. At length an opportunity occurred for those on board to display their hostility to the popular cause. On the evening of the 22d of August, Capt. Sears was sent with a detachment of militia to remove some guns that lay near the fort at the southern extremity of the city. For some cause several shots were fired at one of the Asia's boats that lay not far off, which was presently answered by a broadside from the ship, killing three of Sears's men, and throwing the whole city into great consternation. Among those engaged in this affair was Alexander Hamilton, a youth of eighteen, who had been for two years past a student in King's College, and had already made himself conspicuous among the patriots by certain able newspaper essays in behalf of popular liberty. He was soon after, through the favor of M'Dougald, appointed a captain of artillery, from which point his history is identified with that of the country.

§ 129. *Proceedings of the Committee of Safety.*

The Committee of Safety, appointed by the late provincial congress, now proceeded to disarm the loyalists on Long Island and Staten Island—which, however, proved to be a rather difficult task. A partisan warfare was thus commenced, arraying neighbor against neighbor, and not unfrequently dividing the nearest relations. Governor Tryon soon found himself in uncomfortable circumstances on account of his opposition to the popular cause, and, to escape personal

inconvenience, retired on board of the *Asia*. But the action of the Committee of Safety was not vigorous, and the governor had a strong party in the city and its vicinity, with whom he managed to keep up a correspondence. *Rivington's Gazette*, the government paper in New-York, continued to be issued, and was a great annoyance to the patriots. The publisher had been several times called to account, and had promised to use less freedom in his strictures, but at length he became more offensive than ever. The Committee of Safety, however, still refused to interfere in the matter. Accordingly, Sears, on behalf of the "Sons of Liberty," having mustered a troop of light-horse in Connecticut, entered New-York at noon and drew up in front of *Rivington's* office, and, amid the cheers of the people, broke up the press and carried off the types. Troops soon began to concentrate in New-York. A body of Connecticut volunteers, obtained through Sears's agency, was ordered into the city, and General Lee was presently sent thither by Washington to take the command; and Colonel Howe's regiment of New-Jersey minute-men and a body of Sterling's regulars were sent to disarm the tories on Long Island, and to arrest some of the principal delinquents.

§ 130. *Plot against the person of Washington.*

Though there was so strong and active a party in New-York in favor of the popular cause, yet in no part of the country were the royalists more numerous or more influential than in that city and its vicinity. For that reason, as well as because of its fitness as a central point for military operation, it was expected

that the enemy when driven out of Boston would direct their main efforts to that city. Accordingly, in the spring of 1776, Washington assumed the command of that city in person, and immediately issued a proclamation forbidding all intercourse with the enemy's shipping. But to enforce such a regulation was no easy matter. Even the mayor of the city was detected in a correspondence with the governor, and was accordingly thrown into prison. A plot was also detected for seizing the person of the commander-in-chief, and conveying him on board one of the British ships—a scheme that had advanced somewhat through the perfidy of some of Washington's soldiers, one of whom was shot for his participation in this affair. Washington's whole disposable force at this time numbered only about eight thousand men, very imperfectly equipped and poorly provided. An additional force of thirteen thousand militia had also been ordered to rendezvous in the city.

§ 131. *Declaration of Independence.*

About this time the Continental Congress, assembled at Philadelphia, declared the united colonies free, and independent of the mother country. The news of this proclamation was received with many demonstrations of joy by the populace of New-York. The portrait of King George that had decorated the City Hall was destroyed, and the leaden statue in the Bowling-Green was thrown down and run into bullets. The joy, however, was far from being universal. A large portion of the wealthier citizens looked on with distrust, and the Episcopal clergy showed their dissatisfaction by shutting up their churches. It was

now no longer possible for men to avoid a choice between the two parties, and accordingly some who had hitherto favored the popular cause drew back from the extreme measures now adopted by that party; while others who had avoided a decision and remained neutral, when compelled to choose between the parties, became decided and active friends of the new government. The declaration was highly favorable to the friends of liberty in New-York, as their covert enemies were thus forced to show themselves, and their friends being known, became more decided and energetic in their efforts for the rights of the people.

§ 132. *Defenses of New-York City.*

While waiting for the arrival of his expected reinforcements, Washington was not inactive. Obstructions were sunk in the North and East Rivers, and fortifications erected to guard the narrowest passages. Fort Washington, at the north end of Manhattan Island, and Fort Lee, on the opposite Jersey shore, were the strongest of these works. The fort at the southern point of the city was strengthened and put in order, and an additional battery placed in Broadway, above the Bowling-Green. M'Dougald's battery was erected on an eminence, just behind Trinity church. There was also a battery at the ship-yards near the foot of Maiden-lane, and another at Corlaer's Hook. Governor's Island had been occupied by a thousand continental troops since April, by whom it was fortified; a battery was also erected at Red Hook, at the western extremity of Long Island. In Brooklyn, a chain of breast-works and small fortifications extended from the Wallabout (now the Navy-Yard) to

Red Hook; and in the city were defenses at every vulnerable point, and most of the streets were barricaded. But the disposable force in the city was quite inadequate to defend so large an extent of exposed front as New-York presented.

§ 133. *The inhabitants leave the city.*

The warlike aspect of affairs drove a large portion of the inhabitants from the city. Women and children became very scarce, and very few of either were seen in the streets. Many dwellings were shut up, their owners having fled from the city; and when the soldiers entered, they broke open the abandoned houses and quartered themselves in them.

§ 134. *Battle of Long Island.*

About the last of June a British fleet appeared off Sandy Hook with the army of General Howe, from Boston, which entered the harbor and disembarked the troops, without opposition, on Staten Island. Soon after, another British fleet, commanded by Admiral Lord Howe, brother to the general, arrived from England, with a strong reinforcement. The invading army, thus strengthened, amounted to twenty-five thousand men. The fleet proceeded up before the city without opposition, and was but slightly delayed by the obstructions that had been placed in its way. A plan of attack by way of Brooklyn was at length determined on. On the 27th of August the whole British force was put in motion. Having landed on Long Island, a few miles below the city, after a good deal of irregular skirmishing and some severe fighting, in which the Americans were defeated at every

point, the enemy halted for the night in front of the works on the high grounds of Brooklyn. During that night, under cover of a heavy fog, the whole American force was transported across the East River; a part of them was then posted in the city, and the rest, comprising the greater portion, were encamped at Harlem Heights. In anticipation of a still farther retreat, the surplus baggage and military stores were sent beyond the Harlem River, where also Washington's headquarters were established. On the 15th of September the British effected a landing at Kip's Bay, when the city was evacuated by the Americans, and given up to the enemy; and from that time New-York became the center of operations of the British army in America. With the American army a very large portion of the remaining inhabitants left the city; so that during the whole period of British military rule in New-York the local population is thought not to have exceeded ten thousand.

§ 135. *Great fire in New-York.*

Immediately after the capture of New-York by the British, on the night of the 21st of September, a fire broke out in the lower part of the city, which burned on almost without resistance during the entire night and part of the next day, and reduced a large portion of the city to a heap of ruins. It commenced late at night in a small wooden house kept as a place of revelry and debauchery on the wharf, near Whitehall-slip. The panic among the inhabitants on account of the capture of the city prevented any adequate efforts to extinguish the fire, or to hinder it from spreading. The wind was blowing from the south-west; so that

the flames were carried up the slip, and soon the whole space between Whitehall and Broad-streets, as far up as Beaver-street, was a continuous field of fire. At about two o'clock in the morning the wind changed to south-east, and carried the fire toward Broadway. It burned both sides of Beaver-street to Broadway, and both sides of Broadway as far up as Rector-street, where its farther progress on the east side was checked by a large three-story brick house. On the west side it continued up to Trinity church, burning both that church and the Lutheran church a little farther down. All the houses on Lumber-street, as far up as St. Paul's church, were destroyed, and on both sides of Partition (Fulton, west of Broadway) street, and the whole range of compact buildings from Broadway to the river. It did not finally stop till it reached Mort Kile (Barclay) street, where the college-yard and vacant grounds adjoining put an end to its destructive progress. The isolated condition of Trinity church seemed to promise its safety in the general ruin; but the southerly wind threw large flakes of fire upon its wooden roof, which, on account of its steepness could not be guarded, and consequently it took fire, and so the whole edifice was consumed. St. Paul's church was several times on fire, but the roof being flat, with balustrades at the eaves, a number of persons were stationed upon it to extinguish the burning cinders as they fell. The whole number of houses burned amounted to about five hundred, or more than an eighth part of the entire city, as to numbers; but a much greater proportion as to their value, as they composed the best part of the city.

§ 136. *American prisoners brought to New-York.*

The history of New-York while occupied by the British army presents a sad view of the dark side of "glorious war." Though there was no more fighting in or about the city, after the capture, the horrors of war were there experienced in their most dreadful forms. At the battle on Long Island nearly a thousand American prisoners were taken by the British; and in the reduction of Forts Washington and Lee, and in several other battles fought about this time, not less than three thousand more were taken. Many private citizens were likewise arrested for having been engaged in revolutionary movements; so that at the beginning of the following winter there could not have been less than five thousand prisoners, for whose safe-keeping Sir William Howe was called upon to provide. The sudden influx of so great a body of prisoners at that season of the year, together with the late conflagration of so large a portion of the city, occasioned much distress, which could not have been altogether avoided by the utmost reach of kindness. But, to the lasting infamy of the parties concerned, as well as in illustration of the horrid accompaniments of war, the truth must be confessed, that the necessarily wretched condition of the prisoners was rendered much worse than was necessary by the wanton and malicious cruelty of those who had the care of them.

§ 137. *Provost Marshal Cunningham.*

The oversight of the prisoners was committed by the commanding general to the provost marshal, one William Cunningham, the son of a British soldier, who

was himself brought up in the army, but had been subsequently engaged in certain discreditable agencies connected with forwarded emigrants to America. Just before the commencement of hostilities he had come to New-York, where he became involved in a personal difficulty with the "Sons of Liberty," to escape from which he fled to Boston, where he was advanced by General Gage to the rank of provost marshal; and now, after the capture of the city, he had come into a position that enabled him to wreak his vengeance to satiety upon the party of his former enemies—an opportunity that he did not fail to improve. The tale of the cruelties of this monster of iniquity almost exceed belief; and the fact that such enormities were practiced in their presence, and were allowed, reflects great dishonor upon the commandants of the British army in New-York. A sentiment indeed prevailed to a great extent among the royal party that the Americans, as rebels, had forfeited all rights, and were justly liable to the worst and severest of treatment—a sentiment noticed by Washington in his correspondence with General Howe, and against which he makes a most earnest protest.

§ 138. *Crowded state of the prisons.*

The prisons and public buildings were immediately crowded to their utmost capacity with these unhappy captives. Into the new bridewell, which stood on Broadway, to the west of the site of the present City Hall, over eight hundred were crowded, where, during the entire winter, they were allowed no fire, and the windows were without glass or shutters, and the rations dealt out for three days were less than a man could

eat at a single meal. The new jail, or "provost," (now the Hall of Records,) was a prison for American officers, and the more distinguished rebels, whether civil or military. Here the provost marshal kept his quarters, and exercised his tyranny upon his unhappy victims with more than a Nero's cruelty. The prisoners were crowded together so closely, that at night it was almost impossible for all to lie upon the floor at once. Here, during the seven years of Cunningham's reign of terror, were incarcerated many distinguished American officers, suffering all manner of insult and privation, while they awaited the time of their liberation, which death, often swifter than any human help, not unfrequently brought to them. The old City Hall, which stood on the site of the present Custom-house, was converted into a guard-house for the main guard of the city. It had dungeons and prisons below, and a court-room on the second floor, where the refugee clergy preached during the latter part of the war. At first civil offenders were confined here, but subsequently whale-boatmen and robbers.

§ 139. *The Sugar-House, etc.*

But these ordinary places of confinement were entirely insufficient to contain all the prisoners; and, accordingly, several of the churches, and other large buildings, were appropriated to that purpose. Among these temporary prisons the Sugar-House obtained a terrible notoriety. This modern bastille stood on Liberty-street, near the Middle Dutch church, a dark stone building, five stories high, with small, deep, port-hole-looking windows, rising tier above tier, exhibiting a dungeon-like aspect. There was a passage

quite round the outside of the building, which was inclosed by a close board fence nine feet high, in which, night and day, two British or Hessian soldiers walked their weary rounds. In the suffocating heat of summer might be seen every aperture of those stone walls filled with human heads, face above face, seeking a portion of the external air. While the jail-fever was raging in the summer of 1777, the prisoners were let out in companies of twenty, for half an hour at a time, to breathe the fresh air; and those within divided themselves into companies, and thus took their turns of ten minutes each at the windows. For some weeks the daily mortality amounted to ten or twelve. The bodies were thrown into the dead-cart and conveyed to a trench kept constantly open, above the Jews' burying-ground, where they were buried in heaps, without care or ceremony.

§ 140. *Churches turned into prisons.*

The North Dutch church, at the corner of William and Fulton-streets, was made to hold eight hundred prisoners; its pews were ripped up, and its mahogany pulpit sent to London, and put in a chapel there; and a floor was laid across from gallery to gallery. The Middle Dutch church was also, at first, used as a prison, but was afterward appropriated to the use of the master-of-horse to be occupied as a riding-school, to train dragoon horses. The floor was taken up and the ground covered with tan-bark, and a pole run across the middle for the horses to leap over. These churches both remained in their ruinous condition till after the restoration of peace. The Brick church in Beekman-street was at first a prison also; but soon

after, it and the Presbyterian church in Wall-street, and the Scotch church in Cedar-street, and the Friends' meeting-house, were converted into hospitals. The French church in Pine-street was a store-house for ordnance stores; King's College was also used for a prison a short time after the capture of the city. The only houses of worship that were not defaced and desecrated during the season of the city's captivity were the two Episcopal churches, St. Paul's and St. George's, which, as belonging to the English Establishment, were accounted sacred; and the Methodist church in John-street, which was also preserved out of respect to the known loyalty of Mr. Wesley and the English Methodists; and the German Lutheran church in the Swamp, which was used by the Hessian mercenaries as a place of worship.

§ 141. *The prison-ships.*

But the worst tales of the horrors of the captivity of the unhappy Americans, in New-York, came from the prison-ships. For want of other places for confinement, the prisoners were placed on board of a number of ships then lying in the harbor of New-York. Among these, the JERSEY, the FALMOUTH, the DIGBY, and the GOOD HOPE, have held the chief notoriety. The JERSEY was a large and roomy vessel, having once mounted sixty-four guns, but was now stripped and reduced to a naked hulk. All her ports were close shut, which prevented any current of air between decks, where all the prisoners were shut down from sunset to sunrise. She was anchored in the Wallabout Bay, where, for more than twenty years after the return of peace, her remains might still be seen. At

times there were more than a thousand prisoners at once on board of her, without berths or benches, and almost without clothes. Dysentery, fever, pleurisy, and despair prevailed. Their provisions were scanty and of very bad quality, the guards were brutally cruel; so that the well often fell sick, and the sick pined without the most necessary comforts, and a terrible mortality prevailed. The number of deaths that occurred during the war in the prisons and prison-ships, can never be ascertained with any credible certainty. That of the prison-ships alone has been set down at eleven thousand five hundred; but this is not only entirely conjectural, but far exceeds any reasonable probability. It is certain, however, that the horrors of those places were such as to utterly defy the power of language, and even the utmost stretch of the imagination. The whole affair is a black stigma upon the name of Great Britain, and a lively exhibition of the true character of war.

§ 142. *The evacuation.*

As New-York was the first point permanently occupied by the hostile British army, so it was the last that was abandoned by it. As place after place was yielded by the retiring army, the royal forces became concentrated in this city. Here, after the peace was concluded, were found a large number of provincial loyalists, who, having borne arms against the American government, or in other ways manifested a sympathy with the British cause, could not now safely return to their former homes, nor remain in any part of the country. There was also a large body of negroes, who had been drawn to the British standard

by the promise of freedom ; for both of which classes provision had to be made before the city could be surrendered to the American forces. The Tories and negroes were at length sent to Nova Scotia ; the troops embarked on board of British transport ships, and everything made ready for an evacuation. At last, on the 25th of November, 1783, all the arrangements having been fully made, the British commandant surrendered the city to Brigadier General Knox, who took possession of it early in the morning with a small detachment of American soldiers. In the course of the day General Washington and his staff, Governor Clinton and his suite, the lieutenant-governor and senators, the officers of the army, and a great body of citizens on horseback, eight abreast, followed by a long procession of citizens on foot, entered the city by the way of the Boston road, and proceeded through Pearl-street to the Battery. Some difficulty was experienced in hoisting the American flag, the British soldiers having unrove the halliards and greased the flagstaff. A public dinner was given to Washington and his general officers, and at evening a splendid display of fireworks was made from the Bowling-green.

Thus ended the war of the American Revolution, and thus was New-York delivered from the presence and power of a foreign enemy, by whom it had been trodden down and laid waste for seven years.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW-YORK AFTER THE WAR—1783-1790.

§ 143. *The city at the close of the war.*

WHEN the city of New-York was first freed from the presence and authority of a foreign military power, under whose tyranny it had suffered for more than seven years, it was little else than a heap of ruins. During this period nearly all kinds of industrial occupations, both private and public, were almost wholly suspended. Streets that were laid out and partially regulated before the commencement of hostilities, had since been wholly abandoned and thrown out to the open common. The wharves had been permitted to go to decay, without any efforts being made to check their ruin, or to restore them when so decayed. Both public and private buildings had been appropriated to military purposes, and of course had been greatly marred and defaced by such use. A large portion of the city was embraced in the "burnt district," which had been laid in ruins by the two great fires that occurred during the early part of the war; and as all other parts of the city had been subjected to the spoliation of the reckless and wanton soldiery, who defaced whatever they touched, and wholly neglected to repair any breach that might occur, all things bore the marks of dilapidation and ruin. Those long and painful years of its captivity had reduced New-York to little more than a wreck of the city as it was at the beginning of the war.

§ 144. *Aspects of the town—ruins.*

The appearance of the town at the time of its restoration to liberty and peace is described by eye-witnesses as the most desolate and gloomy imaginable. A few sketches selected from the statements of such a one will best illustrate this subject.* Beginning at the foot of Broadway, there stood the old fort, with its dismounted cannon lying under the walls, over which they had apparently been toppled by the British soldiery, in the wantonness or haste of their departure. In the Bowling-green was still seen the pedestal from which the leaden image of George the Third was dethroned at the receipt of the news of the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress. Immediately above this point began the "burnt district," extending up both sides of Broadway to Rector-street, except some half-dozen houses left standing near the Battery. To the east of Broadway, as far as Broad-street and up to Beaver-street, all was a heap of ruins; while on the west side all was swept away except St. Paul's church, and a few buildings beyond the compact part of the city as it was at that time. Opposite St. Paul's church were several dwellings of the better class. From this point the fields were open to the north as far as a line ranging eastwardly from Warren-street, where the prospect was bounded by a row of more useful than ornamental public buildings,—the bridewell, the poor-house, the jail, and the gallows. Toward the west there was nothing to obstruct the view of the North River but a few low houses and the

* See Address of Hon. Wm. A. Duer before the St. Nicholas Society.

half-ruined buildings of Columbia College. No visible attempts had been made since the fire to remove the ruins; and, as many of the edifices destroyed were of brick, the skeletons of the walls cast their grim shadows upon the pavements, imparting an unearthly aspect to the streets. The semi-circular front of Trinity church still reared its ghastly form, and seemed to deepen while it hallowed the solitude of the surrounding graves.

§ 145. *Remnants of the town.*

Turning from these ruins, Wall-street presented some of the aspects of a living city. There stood the ruined shell of the old Presbyterian church. At the head of Broad-street was the old City Hall, in all its primitive nakedness. At this time, and until it was fitted up for the use of the federal government, this building stood upon brick arches, permitting a passage from street to street underneath. Above Wall-street, toward the Common, lay the best portion of the city, the residences of the upper classes—though even upon these the hand of the destroyer had made deep and broad impressions. The churches were ruined and dilapidated shells; the shops and stores were few and poorly stocked; and the old sugar-house, no longer vocal with groans and execrations, frowned dismally on the surrounding desolation.

Nor was the ruin of the material city greater than that of its social institutions and pecuniary resources. The resident population was less by more than one-half than before the war; though, after the restoration of peace, many of the exiled families returned to their former habitations. Commerce was almost com-

pletely annihilated, and all industrial pursuits and social and religious observances greatly depressed. The municipal government, that had been suspended during the period of the city's captivity, was presently reorganized, and began to restore order out of the existing confusion. The revenues of the city were of course in a ruinous condition, as neither rents nor taxes had been collected for many years. The old landmarks were in many cases entirely effaced, and often no available means remained for determining the boundaries of estates. The books and public records had, in most cases, been destroyed, or carried off by the former royal officers, civil and military. The city government was organized according to its old charter. James Duane was chosen the first mayor—which office he filled for six successive years. Richard Varick was appointed recorder, which office he filled during the whole of Duane's administration, and afterward that of mayor for twelve years, or until 1801. Rotation in office was less a favorite doctrine in those times than at present.

§ 146. *Restoration of the churches.*

The city very soon began to give indications of returning vitality. The defaced and ruined public and private edifices were gradually repaired, and presently the "burnt district" began to emerge from its ashes and rubbish. The "brick meeting" in Beekman-street was speedily refitted, and dedicated anew to its sacred purposes. The Middle and North-Dutch churches were also repaired and reoccupied as places of worship soon after the return of peace. St. Peter's church, in Barclay-street, the first Roman Catholic

church ever built in the city, was erected in 1785; and two years later, Trinity church, after standing a frightful mass of ruins for more than ten years, was rebuilt, and also made the metropolitan church of the newly-organized Protestant Episcopal denomination, for the diocese of New-York.

§ 147. *Regulation of streets.*

Among the early acts of the restored municipal government were efforts to put in order the streets and thoroughfares of the city. The streets had become encumbered with vast accumulations of rubbish, which were now removed; the old half-filled or ill-fitted wells and pumps were cleaned and fitted for use. The ferries, which, during the military subjugation of the city, had been subjected to the surveillance of the army, and, at the evacuation of the city, were wholly abandoned, were regulated again, and leased to responsible persons; streets that had been abandoned were reclaimed and brought into use, and, a few years afterward, several new ones added to the map of the city.

Although streets leading from Broadway to the North River had been laid out, before the war, as far up as Warren-street, yet none above Dey-street had been regulated and paved. Those beyond were but very partially built upon, and the few buildings found in this part were generally of an inferior description. Along the west side of Broadway was a high ridge of earth, extending down to the neighborhood of Cortlandt-street, through which none of the projected streets on this side penetrated; and indeed Broadway itself extended properly only up to the lower point of the Common, at St. Paul's church.

§ 148. *Supply of pure water.*

The want of an adequate supply of pure and wholesome water was felt and confessed at that early period, and the subject of remedying the defect was frequently discussed among the citizens and public functionaries. Very soon after the return of peace, a plan for remedying this acknowledged defect in the city's provisions, was proposed by Mr. Samuel Ogden: but the city was not yet in a condition to incur the expense that any feasible plan would render necessary. A few years later Robert R. Livingston proposed to bring the water from the "Fresh Water" pond into the city. The proposed plan was confessed to be quite practicable, and the supply of water was thought to be adequate for any probable wants of the city; still, beyond a few preliminary examinations, and some fruitless discussions as to the details of the plan, nothing was done with it. For many years after this time the citizens of New-York were supplied with pure water, for culinary use, from the "Tea-water Pump," a large natural spring, located near the junction of Chatham and Pearl-streets—conveyed from door to door in casks upon carts and drays. The drippings of the roofs, carefully preserved in cisterns, and husbanded with proper frugality, served to preserve and promote that cleanliness of persons, and apparel, and habitations, which was the just and honest pride of our grandmothers before the name of Croton was heard among the denizens of the ancient Dutch metropolis.

§ 149. *Sumptuary ordinances.*

Certain entries among the records of the city government of this period give significant intimations of

the prevailing tastes and sentiments of the people as to the subjects to which they relate. Under the date of "October 5, 1785," we find that "Thomas Poole petitioned for permission to exhibit some feats of horsemanship, and was denied." Only nine days later we have this: "A donation of forty pounds, made to the corporation for the use of the poor by the 'company of comedians,' was ordered to be returned, with a note of disapprobation at the establishment of a play-house without having been licensed, as unprecedented and offensive; and while so great a part of the city is still lying in ruins, and the city still suffering under distress, there is a loud call to industry and economy, and it would be unjustifiable in them to countenance expensive and enticing amusements—among which, play-houses, however well-regulated, should be numbered; while, if under no restraint, it may prove a fruitful source of dissipation, criminality, and vice." These seem to indicate a commendable care, on the part of the city's magistrates, for the morals of the community, but, as is too often the case, their care was as defective in other matters as stringent in respect to amusements. At that very time they were licensing drinking shops at thirty-five shillings each, at the ratio of one to every sixty-five persons, adults and children, in the city.

§ 150. *Benevolent associations.*

This period is also distinguished for the attention then paid to objects of benevolence and philanthropy. Many of the institutions now so efficiently prosecuting those objects, were then just rising into existence. Foremost, in point of time among these, was the *Man-*

mission Society, the parent of the various associations now in existence designed to effect the extirpation of slavery, and the improvement of the condition of the colored race. Among the founders and early patrons of this society were many of the most renowned and estimable citizens of the city and state of New-York, for in those days it was the common sentiment that to hold a fellow-creature in involuntary bondage was a great moral wrong.

The *Humane Society*, whose province is now occupied by several independent associations, each directing its attention to some specific form of charity, dates from 1787. The *Society Library* was reorganized and brought into renewed operation soon afterward; and, a little later, the *General Society of Mechanics and Traders* was incorporated.

§ 151. *Financial improvement.*

Evidence of returning financial prosperity is given in the advanced prices paid for real estate. In 1785, eight lots "near the Bear Market" were sold for a little more than one thousand dollars a piece. Two years later, lots belonging to the city, at Peck-slip, were leased for twenty-one years at thirty-five shillings a foot; and at the same time *ninety acres* of the Common were sold for about six thousand dollars. The market fees were five hundred and eighty pounds a year for several years about this time. In 1791 the "Fresh Water" was purchased of Colonel Rutgers, by the corporation, for one hundred and fifty pounds; and a hundred lots on or near Broadway, in the neighborhood of the Hospital, were sold for twenty-five pounds each.

§ 152. *Population.*

Previous to the beginning of the war the population of New-York City had reached about twenty-two thousand, but the events of the war reduced the number of permanent residents to less than half of that number. After the restoration of peace, many of the families that had fled when the city fell into the hands of the enemy, returned, but not immediately in sufficient numbers to make up the loss before sustained. But the revival of commerce, and the great demand for the labors of mechanics and artisans, attracted inhabitants from all sides; and the prospective establishment of the general government at that place, drew thither a large proportion of the leading families of the country, and of those who follow in the train of wealth and power. Under the operation of these causes, in three years after the restoration of the city, the population had regained its highest formerly attained point; and the four following years added ten thousand more, making the aggregate population, in 1790, over thirty thousand.

§ 153. *Enlargement of the city.*

During the three years ending at the above date, the streets leading from Broadway to the North River, from Cortlandt-street upward to the Hospital, were regulated, and some of them paved. A few years after this the Common was inclosed, graded and planted with trees, and soon began to be called "the Park." Broadway was also paved as far up as Warren-street, and a number of large and substantial brick buildings began to appear in that neighborhood. Greenwich-

street, on the bank of the Hudson River, was prolonged by cutting through the high grounds above Warren-street (the old Vauxhall Garden) toward Lispenard's Meadows.

On the south-easterly side of the town a rapid progression was also perceptible. There commerce held its principal seat, and accumulated its golden treasures. From the beginning the city in this quarter had pressed hard down upon the verge of the water, and by degrees the water itself had been invaded. At first Pearl-street lay along the shore of the East River, though not immediately on the water; Water-street was soon after occupied by a single row of houses fronting the river; it was not, however, regulated till some years afterward. Before the breaking out of the war the ground had been carried outward, and Front-street laid out outside of Water-street; and now the work of filling in and extending was renewed, and South-street soon appeared outside of Front-street, a point beyond which this "docking" operation has not been allowed to proceed. The progress of the city began also to be decidedly felt at points hitherto considered quite out of town. Along "the great Boston road," (the Bowery,) on both sides, were evident indications that a city was expected there at a not very distant future. On the west side four lateral streets had been projected before the war, but now the work was undertaken in good earnest, and the present order of streets, as far west as Mulberry-street, was arranged. These streets, however, did not at first come down to Chatham-street, as they do at present, but only to the vicinity of Bayard-street. To the north-east of the "Fresh Water" was a high woody

hill, long known as Bayard's Mount, but after the war called Bunker's Hill. On the north of this hill was the family mansion of Nicholas Bayard, Esq., which was approached by a lane from the "Boston road," and from which a rather devious passage led out to the upper extremity of Broadway. Soon after this six lateral streets were also laid out on the east side of "the road," which were numbered from First to Sixth; and these were intersected by others starting out of and running perpendicular to that chief thoroughfare. Comparatively little was done, however, toward occupying these new sites till after the close of the last century.

§ 154. *The city proper.*

But while the map of the city was thus enlarged, and great extensions of its limits were contemplated, the city itself remained quietly within certain comparatively narrow limits toward the southern extremity of Manhattan Island. The outskirts of the city proper, sixty years ago, were at the Common in the center, Beekman's Swamp on the north-east, and the grounds of Columbia College on the north-west. A little beyond these points was a belt of lowlands, wholly unfit for building sites, quite separating the dense parts of the city from the projected up-town improvements. A portion of the more wealthy citizens had country seats "out of town;" and some of the poorer classes were accustomed to go beyond the city to obtain cheaper rents, and to purchase a freehold at more moderate rates than could be done in the city proper.

At this time, as already intimated, the region along

the East River was the chief seat of the foreign trade; while the wholesale dealers were found principally in Pearl-street, Broad-street, and about Hanover-square. William-street that then was—that portion of the street that still bears that name, reaching from Wall to Fulton-street—was the great seat of the retail trade, especially in fancy and staple dry-goods, and, of course, the great resort of the ladies. Here were accumulated many of the estates that have given notoriety to the names of certain leading families in the city. Nassau-street, and its vicinity, was a favorite locality for private residences, where were found the family mansions of many of the most considerable citizens. Broadway was rapidly advancing in importance, but as yet had attained only a second-grade position, while the region along the North River was the worst portion of the city.

§ 155. *The prospective federal capital.*

From its geographical position, as well as from its relative greatness, and the probability of its still greater advancement, New-York was, at an early period, looked to as the future capital of the now free and united American States.

At the close of its session, in 1784, the old Continental Congress adjourned to meet the next year in that city, evidently anticipating that the general government would become permanently located there. Accordingly a large number of the officers of the lately disbanded continental army made their way to New-York, to press their several claims upon the government, or to associate with their old companions in arms, among the less exciting duties and pleasures of

peace. In September, 1784, Lafayette arrived in the city, to embark thence for his native country, when the municipal authorities waited upon him with an address, and the compliment of the freedom of the city. At a little later period, Mr. Jay returned from Europe and took up his residence in New-York; and Baron Steuben, after the disbanding of the army, also made New-York his place of residence. Both of these gentlemen were received by the corporation with the same civilities that were offered to Lafayette. The next spring General Washington passed through the city on his way from the late headquarters of the army to Mount Vernon. Though traveling as a private individual, he was waited upon by the corporation, to whose address he made a characteristic reply. The presence of these illustrious persons, with many others, imparted an air of activity and gayety to the otherwise quiet metropolis.

§ 156. *The Continental Congress in New-York.*

The design of the old Congress to transfer the seat of the general government to New-York was highly acceptable to the people of that city. This satisfaction was shown in a truly rational manner. As the Congress was sadly deficient in means, though it had adjourned to meet in New-York, yet but little provision had been made for the accommodation of the government in its new quarters. But the city government came forward and freely made the requisite provisions. The old City Hall at the head of Broad-street was granted for the sessions of the Congress, and other needed facilities were offered to the several departments of government. Here that venerable body continued its sessions

till it became extinct by the inauguration of the new national government under the Federal Constitution. Though a very noiseless body, and necessarily inefficient, when the outside pressure of war was removed, from want of political power, and especially for want of funds, yet were the members of that body a most respectable set of men, and their presence in the city was decidedly and greatly beneficial.

§ 157. *Local events—the doctors' mob.*

A number of events of considerable local interest, that occurred in New-York about this time, demand a passing notice. Among these "the doctors' mob" is one of the most memorable. It ought to be remarked that in this affair, though its name would seem to imply that the members of that unpugnacious profession were its authors, the physicians were rather the victims than the agents of the violation of the public peace. The brief story of the affair is this:—In the spring of the year 1787, as some children were playing near an old building at the lower point of the Common, (which had been used by a number of physicians and surgeons as a hospital and dissecting-room,) a young surgeon called to one of them, at the same time holding up the skeleton of an arm: "See, here is your mother's hand, that has cuffed your ears many a time!" Whether, as pretended, the bones were those of the child's mother, or whether the whole was only an unlucky coincidence, is wholly uncertain; but not so were the consequences. The mother of the child had died only a short time previously, and of course the heartless exhibition and address affected him. In a trepidation of horror at what he had seen

and heard, the child ran to his father, who was not far off, engaged as a mason upon a new building, and told him the whole story. The agonized father, sensitive from his recent bereavement, and at a loss what such a declaration might mean, proceeded to examine the grave of his deceased wife, which, to his utter horror, he found had been rifled of the body. Overwhelmed and petrified with grief, he returned and related his tale of anguish to his fellow-workmen. But with them rage rather than grief became the ruling passion. Armed with their implements of labor, they proceeded in a body toward the ill-omened building, gathering recruits by the way, till they amounted to a formidable mob. The occupants fled at their approach, leaving everything as it was; and the excited multitude took possession. Here they found additional excitants for their rage. In various parts of the building were found a number of human bodies, in various stages of dissection and mutilation. Maddened by the spectacle, the mob issued out in pursuit of the unlucky doctors, who, however, had the good fortune, though sometimes very narrowly, to escape from their pursuers.

§ 158. *How the riot continued.*

The indignation of the people against the heartless robbers of the grave was most intense, and almost universal. The multitude, however, made no discrimination, but aimed their rage against the entire medical profession, so that there was no safety for any physician within the reach of the infuriated mob. They were therefore placed within the jail, and there strongly guarded by a military force. For three or four days the city was in a state of intestine war; at

times the mob bore down everything before them, and again they gave way before the charge of the military forces employed by the city government. When it was ascertained that the doctors had taken refuge in the jail, that building became the principal object of attack and defense. One day, after a somewhat protracted lull in the popular storm, at a concerted time, a general rush of the rioters was made in that direction; but the militia were there before them, drawn up with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets. The governor, the mayor, and aldermen, and many of the principal citizens were also before the jail, lending their influence to the cause of law and order. Upon these, therefore, the infuriated mob made a desperate onset, and Governor Clinton was with some difficulty restrained from ordering the military to fire upon them. In the *mélée* Mr. Jay received a serious wound in the head, and the Baron Steuben was knocked down by a blow from a stone thrown at random from the mob. The kind-hearted old soldier had all along been very solicitous that extreme measures should not be resorted to; and at the very moment of his misfortune he was earnestly engaged in deprecating such a fatal resort. But the blow on his own head wholly changed his views of the subject; and, as he fell, he exclaimed aloud, "Fire! governor, fire!" The ludicrousness of the affair quite dispelled any sanguinary designs that his former entreaties had failed to remove from the heart of the governor, and so the rioters escaped the "leaden hail," and the city the horrible spectacle of a domestic massacre.

§ 159. *How the affair ended.*

At length, exhausted by their own efforts, and perhaps in part avenged, the mob melted away, like a morning mist, and order again reigned in the city. Several lives had been sacrificed in the tumult, and a great many had been more or less severely wounded, who then would have gladly availed themselves of the aid of the objects of their recent infuriated pursuit. The amount of damage actually suffered was, however, less than might have been apprehended from the formidable character of the excitement. We have no account of any subsequent prosecutions against the rioters. The affair was properly a drawn battle. Whether the case that first excited the popular indignation was fact or fiction is uncertain, and at this time unimportant; there is no doubt, however, that great blame was due to the surgeons, and especially to the young man whose wanton folly was the first cause of the excitement. Popular tumults are great evils, and always to be deprecated, except when they become the only remedies available against great popular abuses. It is always well for the guardians of public affairs to be assured that there is a limit beyond which abuses can not be carried without danger to the persons and estates of their authors.

§ 160. *A grand federal procession.*

The next incident requiring to be noticed was the great civic procession in honor of the ratification of the Federal Constitution. This great exhibition was doubtless among the most splendid ever witnessed in the city; and, as regards the popular enthusiasm, it is

probably without a rival. The morning of the 23d of July, 1788, was ushered in with a federal salute of thirteen guns, and the ringing of the bells of the city. At the designated hour, the several bodies that were to make up the procession gathered at their respective places of rendezvous, and proceeded thence to their places in the line, as they were forming in "the fields." When duly formed the column proceeded down Broadway and Whitehall-street; then through Great Dock-street to Hanover-square; thence up Great Queen-street, Chatham-street, and the Boston road to "Bayard's farm," where the procession halted. Here a splendid dinner was served to the rejoicing multitude; and, among the other viands, was a fat ox roasted whole. Among the guests at this feast of joy were the president and members of the Continental Congress, the heads of departments of the general government, foreign ministers and other distinguished strangers, and the clergy of the city.

The procession was exclusively civic in its character, as no military company was present, and all its parts indicate at once the decidedly American, and the strongly *federative* tendency of the public sentiment. The procession was led by a man on horseback, personating Christopher Columbus, who was thus recognized as the great pioneer in the westward march of empire. Next came two practical farmers, driving their field-teams, one drawing a plow and the other a harrow. These were followed by the Society of the Cincinnati, led on by their eagle banner, and dressed in their continental uniforms. After them came the several trades and professions, with appropriate ensigns and badges—the workmen on stages drawn by horses

—and seeming to work at their respective trades, each doing something for the public service. The carpenters, especially, had a job adapted to the occasion. Their platform rested on *ten* pillars—emblems of the ten States that had already ratified the Constitution—while they were engaged upon the *eleventh*, which was inscribed “New-York,” while two others lay by, emblematical of the two States (Rhode-Island and North Carolina) that were yet outside of the federation.

But the most interesting, as well as the most conspicuous, object in the procession was the “federal ship,” a miniature frigate of about thirty-two feet keel and ten feet beam, and complete in all her parts. She was manned by about forty seamen and marines, besides the usual complement of officers upon her quarter-deck.

After the feast was dispatched, the procession threaded its way by an irregular and incommodious lane-way to the head of Broadway, and so to the place of setting out, where the whole were dismissed. In the evening was a grand illumination and display of fire-works in the Bowling-green, which, it is said, were not a little damaged by the pertinacious brilliancy of the moon.

§ 161. *Preparation for the new national government.*

The new federal constitution having been ratified by more than the minimum number of States required to give it validity, and a president and vice-president having been elected, as well as senators and representatives from most of the ratifying States, the new government was convoked,—the 4th of March, 1789, being designated as the time, and New-York as the

place of meeting. This event was looked forward to with much satisfaction by the citizens and government of the city. There was, however, one great drawback to this general satisfaction—there was no place in the city in which the new government could be accommodated.

The old Congress had held its sessions in the City Hall at the head of Broad-street; but that building was sadly out of repair, and only partially recovered from the dilapidation into which it had fallen while in the hands of a foreign enemy. Extensive repairs were absolutely demanded to render it at all suitable for the purposes to which it was to be appropriated, and neither the Continental Congress nor the city government could command the funds that such a work would require. In this emergency, with a highly commendable patriotism and regard for the interests of the city, a number of private citizens advanced the necessary amount (\$32,500) to the city authorities. The building was then remodeled and thoroughly repaired, and the renovated edifice—now named “Federal Hall”—placed at the disposal of the new federal government. This work was not completed, however, till nearly two months after the time it was to have been occupied. The 4th of March came, but not the pageant of the expected inauguration. Salutes of cannon, and peals from the bells of the city were sounded at sunrise, noon, and sunset; but only eight senators and thirteen representatives were in attendance. Nearly a month passed before a quorum of each House could be obtained, and then almost another month was spent awaiting the arrival of the president elect.

§ 162. *Inauguration of President Washington.*

General Washington arrived in New-York, to assume the hitherto untried duties of the new government of the United States under the federal constitution, on the 23d day of April, 1789, and just a week later (the 30th) took place the ceremony of the inauguration. The place selected for this imposing scene was the balcony of the senate-chamber, which, being elevated and opening to the south toward Broad-street, afforded a favorable view to the multitude of spectators. At nine o'clock religious services were held in all the churches in the city—a commendable recognition of the dependence of the new government upon the protection of Heaven. At a little past noon the president elect proceeded from his lodgings, escorted by a troop of cavalry, and attended by a committee of Congress, and the heads of departments of the old government in carriages, followed by two or three resident foreign ministers, and a great concourse of citizens. Having been conducted to the senate-chamber, he was there received by the two houses of the new Congress, and presently informed by the vice-president, acting as president of the senate and chairman of the convention of the two houses, that all things were ready for the administration of the required oath of office. The august assembly then proceeded to the open gallery immediately in front of the senate-chamber, and there, in sight of the multitudes that filled the open space on all sides, Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of the State of New-York, proceeded to administer the oath of office to the new president. This done, Livingston, with a firm and audible

voice, added, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" The response given to this sentiment was loud, long, and enthusiastic—such as may be heard only when a multitude is deeply and thoroughly affected by a common soul-stirring sentiment, uttered with mingled sobs and tears of joy. The inaugural address was then read in the senate-chamber, after which the members of the new government proceeded in a body to St. Paul's church, where prayers suited to the occasion were read by the recently ordained Bishop Provoost, who had also been chosen chaplain to the senate. The day closed with the usual display of fire-works and illuminations.

§ 163. *New-York the national capital.*

The proceedings of the general government, though located in New-York, do not come within the designs of a purely local history. Yet the presence of the government in that city, though only for the brief period of a little more than a year after the new organization, did not fail to make a decided impression upon its society, as well as upon its municipal progress. The population of the city was increased by the presence of the officers and agents of the government, and much more by those who, for purposes of pleasure or business, followed in their train. The manners of the people were also greatly, and, on the whole, favorably affected by the presence of so large a number of persons representing the better educated classes of all parts of the Union, as well as from foreign countries. During this period there were also in the city a great number of the veterans of the revolutionary army hanging around the govern-

ment—either from attachment to their former commander-in-chief, or more frequently as expectant petitioners for the means of subsistence. These disbanded soldiers composed a notable element of society, as they were accustomed to mingle in the social gatherings of the citizens and incumbents of government offices, or to parade the streets, with their soldierly bearings and razed uniforms.

The first Congress held its first and second sessions in New-York; and in that period the wheels of the federal government were gotten fairly in motion, and a line of policy adopted, which, with some modifications, continues to the present time. The people of New-York would have gladly induced Congress to make their city the permanent capital of the nation, but a more southern locality was demanded by a majority of the people's representatives. Accordingly, at the close of the second session, the government was removed to Philadelphia, to which place Congress had adjourned.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONDITION AND PROGRESS—1790—1810.

§ 164. *Further extension.*

THE twenty years reaching from 1790 to 1810, formed a period of unprecedented prosperity in the pecuniary and industrial affairs of New-York. During this time also the city suffered most severely from the visitations of disease. In 1791 the old wards were all abolished and a new distribution made, and the new wards, instead of being named, as were the old ones, were numbered from one to seven. During this and the next year many new streets were opened, and others formerly opened for a portion of their present length, were greatly extended. Many new buildings were also erected, some of them of a class somewhat advanced above the style that had generally prevailed hitherto. The shore of the East River, above Coenties-slip, was especially a scene of activity at this time, and at that early period the encroachments upon the water were carried to a point beyond which they have not since been permitted to extend. On the East River a point had been already reached beyond which it was not considered proper to carry out the water line; and, accordingly, a law was procured from the State legislature, forbidding the extension of the wharves beyond a point already reached by some of them. Toward the Hudson River the city was also advancing rapidly, and soon after West-street was surveyed and laid out, and made the permanent limit of the city in that direction; and "up-town," that is,

about the College, the Common, Chatham-street, and Catharine-street, the city was advancing with an unparalleled growth.

§ 165. *Consolidation of the city's plan.*

The advancement of the city induced the corporation to give increased attention to laying out new streets, and regulating those that had been before projected. A system was then adopted, which, as carried out, has given to the middle portions of our city a good degree of regularity, as well as furnished it with capacious and convenient thoroughfares. Though less rigidly exact than some of its sister cities, and even less so than its own newer portions, the middle region of New-York may compare advantageously, in point of practical convenience, with almost any city in the land. Much was also done at this time to remedy the defects of the plan of the older portion of the city. Many of the continuous ways had been broken up into parts and called by different names, but now these fragments of streets were consolidated. Smith-street extended from the "Vley" up to Wall-street, where William-street commenced and extended to Frankfort-street, and from that point King George-street reached to Pearl: all these were now reduced to a single street, and the name of William-street applied to the whole. The extension of Broadway above St. Paul's church, along the west side of the Common, had been called Great George-street, which name was abolished, and a common name given to the entire street. Little Dock-street, Pearl-street, Hanover-square, and Great Queen-street, were consolidated into the present Pearl-street, as far up as

Chatham-street. Princess-street was given to Beaver-street. Stone-street was increased by the annexation of Duke-street, and the alley leading to Hanover-square. Verlettenberg, or Flatten Barrack-street, leading from Broad-street to Broadway, was united to Garden-street, leading from the same point eastward, making the street now called Exchange-place. The name of King-street was changed to Pine-street; Little Queen, to Cedar; Crown, to Liberty; and Prince, to Rose—thus, for a while, obliterating the very names of royalty from the map of the city, which, as monuments of foreign domination, had become hateful to the people.

§ 166. *New public edifices—resources.*

Several public buildings for city purposes, as well as individual enterprise, were erected about this time. Of the latter class was the Tontine Coffee-House in Wall-street, built by an association of capitalists in 1792, and for a long time the most celebrated hotel in the city. In 1794 the new alms-house in Chambers-street (directly in the rear of the City Hall) was begun, and completed the next year. To aid the city in that undertaking, the legislature of the State granted £10,000, to be raised by a lottery. It is a gratifying evidence of the improved morality of the times, that a practice then sanctioned by law, and engaged in by good citizens, is now justly abhorred, and proscribed by stringent penal enactments. At that time the whole number of paupers dependent on public charity was six hundred and twenty-two, for whose maintenance the city paid annually more than \$20,000. Soon after this the property near Kip's Bay, since

known as Bellevue, and till recently the seat of the city alms-house and hospitals, was purchased for £2,000. There were also about that time seventy-three persons, on an average, in bridewell, who cost \$1,500 a year over their earnings. The New-York dispensary, since so efficient in affording medical relief to the diseased poor, was incorporated that year, and the next year the new state-prison at Greenwich was begun. The Park theater, the first allowed in the city, was completed and opened to the public, a few years later. In 1795 the ferry to Paulus Hook (Jersey City) was leased for £250 per year; the Hoboken ferry for £95; that to Staten Island had before been rented for £20; and two years later the Brooklyn ferry brought £800. In 1793 the income from tavern licenses and market fees was more than £2,000; and in 1800 the wharves, slips, and piers, were leased for \$1,200. The auction duties for 1798 amounted to \$2,583.

• § 167. *Increase of commerce.*

As the source of the progress so plainly seen in all departments of the affairs of the city, its commercial prosperity is especially worthy of notice. Taking a period of thirteen years, extending from 1789 to 1801, both inclusive, a most astonishing increase is shown. During this period the duties on foreign goods imported into New-York advanced from less than \$150,000, collected in the first of those years, to nearly \$5,000,000 in the last. The tonnage of American vessels engaged in foreign trade was, in 1789, eighteen thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight; in 1801, one hundred and forty-six thousand two hundred and thirty-two. In the coasting-trade the increase was

from less than five thousand to thirty-four thousand tons. The foreign vessels increased in the same time about three-fold, and amounted at the end to sixty thousand tons. During the same period the value of exports increased from \$2,500,000 to almost \$20,000,000. Before the Revolution they had never reached \$500,000 in any single year. These dry details tell the whole story, and prove beyond a question that as New-York lives by commerce, so it has ever owed its prosperity to that form of productive industry. It is also evident that the character of the city, as a great emporium of trade, became definitely settled during the few later years of the last century.

§ 168. *New church edifices.*

During the period now especially under notice, a commendable interest was evinced in the matter of providing for the religious wants of the city. Christ-church (afterward removed to Anthony-street) was erected in Ann-street in 1794; and two years later, St. Mark's, at Stuyvesant's Place, two miles from the city; also a Baptist church in Oliver-street. In 1797 two Presbyterian churches were erected, one in Pearl-street, and the other in Rutger's-street, out of town, toward Corlaer's Hook. Zion's (Episcopal) church was built in 1801; and St. Stephen's, in First (Christie) street, in 1805. In 1809 Grace church was founded as an independent Episcopal church, occupying the site of the old Lutheran church in Broadway, below Trinity church; and the next year St. John's chapel, in Varick-street, then quite beyond the limits of the city. Two or three small houses of worship were erected by the Baptists during the first few years of

the present century. A Methodist church, the second in the city of that denomination, was built in Second (Forsyth) street in 1789; and another, the third, in Duane-street, near the North River, in 1797. A church for colored people, of the same denomination, was established in Church-street in 1800; and only a few years later a Methodist church was erected in Allen-street, and another in Bedford-street, in Greenwich village.

§ 169. *The New-York pulpit.*

At no time has the people of New-York enjoyed the labors of a greater proportion of eminent divines than during the latter years of the last century and the former of this. Bishop Provoost was at once bishop of the diocese and rector of Trinity Church, and on account of the smallness of his diocesan duties beyond the city, he was able to devote most of his labors to that parish, in which he was assisted by his not less eminent successor, Dr. Benjamin Moore. The Presbyterian Church in Wall-street enjoyed the services of Dr. John Rogers till removed by death, when his place was supplied, with scarcely less ability, by the late Dr. Miller, of Princeton, then just commencing his ministry; and that in Cedar-street was served by the celebrated Dr. Romeyn. The Reformed Dutch church was first occupied by Dr. Livingston, and, after his decease, by Dr. Abeel. Dr. John Mason was then just appearing before the public, and giving the first indications of that powerful intellect which has given luster to his reputation, while the history of his over-tasked energies remains a beacon to warn others of the dangers to which he became a victim.

§ 170. *Frequent and extensive visitations of yellow-fever.*

During the period embraced in this chapter, New-York was frequently and severely scourged with the yellow-fever, in the form of an epidemic. After the lapse of fifty years, since its last departure, it appeared again in 1791, in a comparatively mild form, and was confined to a limited region about Burling-slip. The next year it prevailed very malignantly in Philadelphia, and strict quarantine regulations were maintained in New-York to prevent its importation; and during that year the city escaped. But early in the summer of 1795 it appeared suddenly in New-York, and continued to rage till the coming on of cold weather. A large portion of the inhabitants fled from the city, and nearly all forms of business experienced a complete stagnation. The whole number of deaths by yellow-fever amounted to about seven hundred and fifty, or at the rate of about one and a half per cent. of the whole population of the city. In 1798 the epidemic returned again, and though it did not appear till near the beginning of August, it greatly exceeded in fatality that which had preceded it. More than two thousand persons died of the epidemic, and a thousand more died of its effects; and as the population of the city did not probably exceed about thirty thousand during the prevalence of the pestilence, it appears that a tenth of these fell victims to this scourge.

§ 171. *Causes of the epidemic—its recurrence.*

An investigation into the causes of this epidemic, made by "a large and respectable committee of the

citizens, the physicians, and of the corporation," presented only the ordinary causes of disease in large cities. Among these they enumerated "deep, damp cellars, and sunken yards, unfinished water-lots, public slips, containing filth and stagnant water, burials in the city, narrow and filthy streets, tippling-houses, (more than a thousand were licensed that year,) and want of an adequate supply of pure and wholesome water." The epidemic returned the next year, though it prevailed to a comparatively slight degree, and again in 1801, and yet again in 1803. The next year it broke out in Brooklyn, and caused between forty and fifty deaths, but did not appear in the city. But in 1805 it raged with very considerable violence, producing a great panic and flight from the city, and seriously deranging business. The mortality, however, was small, compared with what occurred seven years before, amounting to only about three hundred. After this the yellow-fever did not appear again in New-York for fourteen years.

§ 172. *Benevolence elicited by the epidemic.*

These frequent visitations of that most terrible malady, with all its evils, was also the occasion of much good to New-York. The necessities of the poor called loudly for the aid of the benevolent, and the call was nobly responded to by the citizens generally. The people thus became accustomed to care for the poor and afflicted, and a spirit of active and generous benevolence was evoked and called into habitual exercise in their behalf—a spirit and practice that has ever since been the crowning glory of the citizens of New-York. The great mortality among the poor,

and among strangers, induced the corporation to make some more adequate provision for interments, without expense, to those who would avail themselves of such provision; and accordingly Potters-field (now Washington-square) was purchased, and appropriated for a free burying-ground. The quarantine regulations of the city were more fully defined and rigidly enforced. Bedlow's Island was given up to the State as a site for a lazaretto. Increased attention was given to the statistics of disease and death, and the bills of mortality were ordered to be carefully made up, and regularly published. The physicians became more active in anticipating and preventing disease, as well as in curing it; and a great amount of gratuitous practice began to be given to the poor. A board of health was, during this period, first organized in the city.

§ 173. *A supply of pure water—the Manhattan Company.*

The subject of supplying the city with pure and wholesome water occupied much of the attention of the citizens at this period, and was the theme of many long and interesting discussions among the public men of the city. The necessity of some better supply was universally confessed; but any plan that at all promised an adequate supply required an amount of money for its accomplishment (\$1,000,000) greater than the corporation felt willing to expend. A private corporation—the Manhattan Company—was, therefore, organized and chartered in 1799, which promised to perform the needed work. To this company was given the exclusive use of all the springs and streams on the island, as well as the exclusive right to supply

water to the city. The company proceeded at once to organize, and to prosecute the object proposed in its charter. Deep wells were sunk directly back of the alms-house, near the border of the lake, or "Collect," affording an abundant supply of water, which was forced by a steam-engine into a reservoir, from which it was distributed in wooden pipes, laid along the streets under ground, to all parts of the city. In 1808 the capital and real estate of the company amounted to \$172,000. Two thousand three hundred and sixteen houses and fountains were supplied, and the company's affairs were considered generally prosperous. But it soon after became evident that, as an expedient for supplying the city with water, this provision was quite insufficient.

§ 174. *Increase of population.*

Notwithstanding the frequent recurrence of epidemical diseases, the population of New-York increased steadily, and with unprecedented rapidity. The accession of numbers was at the rate of about three thousand yearly. At the general census in 1800, New-York had over sixty thousand inhabitants, having nearly doubled in ten years; and five years later it had reached seventy-five thousand. The composition of the population, as to race and country, was also highly gratifying. The colored population, which, for a hundred years before the Revolution, had constituted a sixth part of the whole—most of them slaves—had declined relatively nearly one-half, and slavery was rapidly verging toward complete extinction. The proportion of aliens was likewise inconsiderable, and among the native inhabitants the old lines of distinc-

tion and original nationalities had become almost wholly effaced, and the population of New-York presented a well-defined and homogeneous character, which it has maintained until very recently.

§ 175. *Enlargement of the city.*

About the beginning of the present century, New-York fairly overleaped the boundaries that seemed for a while to confine it. A line of low grounds and water-courses extended quite across the island, from the Great Swamp on the East River, through the Fresh-Water pond and Lispenard's meadows to the Hudson, cutting off the city from the high ground beyond. For a long time the only public highway over this low ground was the Boston road, which passed over a bridge near the head of Roosevelt-street. Recently a passage had been made on the shore of the Hudson, pretty nearly answering to the present Greenwich-street. But the growth of the city naturally caused it to expand beyond its former limits, and with the beginning of the nineteenth century the city began its progress "up-town," which has not yet been arrested. Down to that time the little lake of pure spring water had occupied its central position in the island, and its possession had never been even threatened with prospective disturbance. Roosevelt-street already covered its eastern outlet, and the opening of the Greenwich road had cut it off from the river on that side also, and now Broadway was to be led across the deep ravine that separated the twin hills that lay above and below it. Before that was done, however, Brennan (Spring) street had been laid out from the Hudson River across the island toward the Bowery

road ; and on both sides of that road streets had been opened, both parallel and perpendicular to it, which were already partially occupied by gentlemen's country residences and the humble cottages of the poor, who had gone beyond the city to obtain pure air and cheap rents. All along the East River, up as far as Corlear's Hook, streets had been projected, and some of them opened and partially occupied.

§ 176. *Greenwich and Bowery villages.*

About two miles above the city were two small and irregular villages—one on either side of the island. Of these Greenwich, on the Hudson River, was much the most populous ; and continuing to increase it became a large suburb, till it was finally swallowed up by the increasing magnitude of the city. Its identity is still traceable in the want of conformity of the plan of this quarter of the city to that of the portions that surround it. On the east side, on the Bowery road near the homestead of the Stuyvesants, there was a cluster of dwellings that at length became a village ; and that in its turn was merged in the great city. Eastward from the Bowery the plan of the city was limited by North (Houston) street, beyond which it was deemed impossible that it could be extended. Broadway was laid out so as to extend in a right line upward till it should intersect the Boston road, now called the Bowery ; and between this and the Bowery a number of streets were opened. West of Broadway the northern line of the plan of the city was first at Spring-street, and several years later at Houston-street, eastward from Greenwich.

§ 177. *The "Collect," or fresh-water pond.*

The advancement of the city, however, seemed to be retarded and its plan misshapen by the unregulated localities about the Fresh Pond—or, as the Dutch denominated it, the *Kolch*, which name had now become pretty generally current, but half-translated and half-corrupted into the "Collect." This little lake was even then, after all the marrings it had received from the hand of art, a deep, broad, and pure sheet of water, fed by perennial springs, and affording a plentiful supply of its useful element for all the wants of the city. Its southern and eastern banks were now lined with furnaces, potteries, breweries, tanneries, and ropewalks, all drawing from it their supplies of water. It was also used for purposes of pleasure and recreation. In summer it was the scene of rural aquatic excursions, and in winter the grand resort of the youth for skating. These exhilarating sports are thus described by one* who was himself a participant in them:—"No person who has not beheld it can realize the scene it then exhibited, in contrast to that part of the city under which it now lies buried. The ground between the Collect and Broadway rose gradually from its margin to the height of one hundred feet; and nothing can exceed, in brilliancy and animation, the prospect it presented on a fine winter-day, when the icy surface was alive with skaters, darting in every direction with the swiftness of the wind, or bearing down in a body in pursuit of the ball driven before them by their hurlies; while the hillside was

* Hon. W. A. Duer,—Address before the St. Nicholas Society, 1849.

covered with spectators, rising as in an amphitheatre, tier above tier, comprising as many of the fair sex as were sufficient to adorn, and necessary to refine the assemblage—while their presence served to increase the emulation of the skaters.”

§ 178. *Early steam navigation on the “Collect.”*

This little lake, now forever blotted from the map of our city, was also the scene of one of the most interesting, and, as respects its results, one of the most important events that the world ever saw. That was nothing less than the original experiment in steam navigation. Here, in 1795, was exhibited by John Stevens, of Hoboken, a boat with a screw propeller driven by a steam engine. The next year another experiment was made in the same place by John Fitch, the real inventor of steam navigation, with a ship's yawl, into which he had placed a rude steam-engine of his own construction, with paddle-wheels at the sides of the boat. These experiments, with Fitch's invention, were made in the presence and under the inspection of Chancellor Livingston, and Stevens, and Roosevelt, and doubtless afforded many of the facts and suggestions through which Fulton made the art available for useful purposes. Fitch was in advance of the men of his own times, and so was not appreciated; but justice should now be rendered to his name, and the city of New-York, which owes so much to steam navigation, should not fail to do honor to its original inventor, who, after a life of fruitful experiments and labors, died in poverty and obscurity.

§ 179. *The powder-house knoll.*

An island toward the western end of the Collect had long been occupied by a magazine for storing gun-powder. This island was at length united to the main-land by a dike and causeway, to which a street led from Broadway, called Magazine-street; and, still later, it was extended eastward also to Chatham-street. Magazine-street has since been made a continuation of Pearl-street, by which addition that famous thoroughfare is rendered a little the most crooked and irregular in this city of crooked and irregular streets.

§ 180. *A plan for converting the "Collect" into a park.*

In 1789 a plan was proposed for converting this pond and the grounds adjacent to the embellishment of the city. A company was organized, and a plan drawn for a park, to embrace the entire Collect, and extending from Reade-street northward to the present location of Grand-street, and including the eminence to the north-east, commonly called Bunker's Hill. The company looked to the sale of lots, to be laid out around the park, to more than remunerate them for their expenses. But the thrifty manufacturers, whose establishments lined the sides of the water, had more confidence in their shops and trades than in the proposed speculation; and capitalists generally were slow to believe that the future growth of the city would justify the expectations on which the proposed outlay was to be built, and so the whole scheme failed to be realized.

§ 181. *Another plan to make it an inland basin.*

It was subsequently proposed to render the Collect subservient to the interests of commerce by making it a great inland dock, connected by ship-canals with both rivers, and having its shores fringed with wharves and warehouses. By actual surveys, the practicability of the plan was proved beyond a question. The surface of the pond was about thirteen feet above the surrounding waters, so that only the depth necessary for purposes of commerce would be required to give a free circulation to the tide through the canal. This plan also contemplated the redemption of about four hundred acres of land from the marshes, which, being completely drained by the canal, would become available as sites for residences, and the alarming evils feared, and since realized, by the choking up of this morass, would be effectually avoided. The distance from river to river over the route proposed for the canal, was found to be a little more than a mile and a quarter.

§ 182. *The "Collect" finally and totally destroyed.*

But while a portion of the citizens were thus consulting in regard to the great interests of the city in these matters, individual enterprize, without concert or general system, was pushing forward the growth of the city, till the very existence of the quiet little lake began to be in danger. Both on its eastern and western sides the streets began to project up beyond it, and the cross streets headed hard down against it. The extension of Magazine-street eastward divided the pond into two parts, called the great and the little

Collect. Soon after the "Powder-house knoll" was cut down and thrown into the water; and not much later, "Bunker Hill" followed in the same inglorious path. Broadway had been ordered to be extended through the hills and across the intervening ravine to the region traversed by the great cross-road, covering the present site of Spring-street. The grand leveling system, by which the natural landmarks of a great portion of Manhattan Island have become entirely effaced, then began an efficient course of operation, and in a short time one of the most irregular portions of the ground-plot of the city—comprising the present sixth ward—was dug down or filled up, as the case required. Under the operation of this system the Collect at length totally disappeared, and in its place we have the region of the Five Points; the seat of the Halls of Justice, commonly called the Tombs; and, till just now, have had the Arsenal—a poor exchange for what it was, or what it might have been made.

"The destruction of the Collect," says the writer just quoted, "is the great opprobrium of our municipal legislation. It cut off the spring from which the city was supplied with pure and wholesome water from a perennial source, and in a volume sufficient for its permanent supply, at a cost not to be mentioned in comparison with that of the Croton aqueduct; while, in lieu of a clear and picturesque sheet of living water in the heart of the city, which, if preserved, would have conduced to its salubrity, and might have been rendered its greatest ornament, has been substituted a damp and sunken district, which, if capable of any further improvement than that derived from

the Arsenal and Halls of Justice, is certainly not calculated to invite it.”

§ 183. *Great fire in Front-street.*

This prosperity of the city was, however, attended by some unfavorable and even disastrous accompaniments. In addition to the frequent recurrence and great fatality of yellow-fever, the city suffered greatly from the ravages of fire. On the night of the 18th of December, 1804, a fire broke out at about two o'clock in a grocery-store in Front-street, not far from Wall-street, which, being favored by a high wind and an intensely cold air, progressed very rapidly; and as the firemen assembled rather tardily, and the engines were worked with difficulty on account of the cold, it obtained great headway, and destroyed a large amount of valuable property. It burned the whole block on the west side of Coffee House-slip, in Water-street, to Gouverneur-lane, including all the buildings in Front-street to the water, and on the east of Wall-street down to the slip. Among the buildings destroyed were the old Coffee House, and several valuable brick stores; but most of them were wooden structures of no great value, which were soon replaced by new and fire-proof edifices. About forty buildings in all were consumed, and the destruction of property estimated to amount to about \$2,000,000.

§ 184. *Cold winter of 1804-5.*

The winter in which this fire occurred was remarkable for its severity, and for the suffering caused by it among the poor, especially for want of fuel. Immense quantities of snow encumbered the streets, and

in many cases rendered them almost impassable. Nearly all kinds of business were suspended or greatly curtailed; fuel rose to an exorbitant price, while the poorer classes were without employment, and consequently destitute of the means to purchase at any price. But, with characteristic zeal and alacrity, the corporation and private citizens devoted themselves to their relief. Large amounts of fuel and provisions were distributed by the corporation, and by temporary associations of benevolent individuals, for the benefit of the poor.

§ 185. *The City Hall projected and built.*

The rapid extension of the city toward the north, at the beginning of the present century, began to suggest the necessity of fixing a permanent location for the public buildings at some suitable point above the old and densely occupied part of the city; and the lower part of the Common, already occupied by the bridewell, jail, and alms-house, was selected as the site of the new City Hall.* In October, 1802, the Common Council voted to erect such a building, to cost *twenty-five thousand* dollars, and a premium was offered for the best plan; but no plan could be made that was at all acceptable that did not very far exceed the sum designated by the vote of the corporation. At length, after much doubt and hesitation, the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was devoted to that object, a plan adopted, and contracts for building made; and on the 20th of September, 1803, the foundation-stone of the new edifice was laid by the mayor of the city, Edward Livingston,

* See Frontispiece.

with all due ceremony. The marble of which the City Hall was built was brought from Stockbridge, in Massachusetts, a distance of one hundred and forty miles, though now marble of a superior quality is quarried only a few miles from the city. But these rich supplies of excellent building materials, which are now contributing so much to the embellishment and value of New-York, were then entirely unknown. The marble was to be delivered in New-York at a dollar and six cents per foot, which price was afterward increased to a dollar and twenty-five cents; but the contract proved ruinous to the undertaker, and was at length abandoned. A new contract was then made, by which three dollars per foot were allowed. The copper used in roofing the new edifice was imported from England, and cost the city ten thousand five hundred dollars. In 1811 the corporation offices were removed to the new hall, although the work was not completed till the next year. The whole cost, exclusive of the furniture, was half a million of dollars, or just twice the amount of the original contract. At the time of its erection, the new City Hall was among the noblest structures in the whole country; nor has the lapse of forty years since it was finished, though in that time the wealth of the country has been vastly augmented, and attention to architecture greatly increased, removed it from its place in the first class of public edifices in America. It stands as a monument of the foresight and public spirit of the public men of New-York, who, in the comparative infancy of the city, and with its limited resources, conceived and executed so noble a work.

§ 186. *Introduction of steam navigation.*

The year 1807 will ever be memorable in the annals of the city of New-York, as the time of the first successful experiment in an art that is rapidly revolutionizing the commercial and social affairs of the world. It was in that year that the first steamboat ever built, capable of being applied to useful purposes, was launched upon the waters of the Hudson, and began plying between New-York and Albany. That vessel was the "Clermont," which had been constructed under the personal supervision of Robert Fulton, the justly celebrated father of steam navigation. It was at first one hundred feet long, twelve feet wide, and seven feet deep; the next year it was lengthened to one hundred and fifty feet, and widened to eighteen, and its name changed to the NORTH RIVER. The passage to Albany was made in *thirty-six hours*, and at an expense of seven dollars. A contemporary record states that "Mr. Fulton's new steamboat left New-York on the 2d [of October, 1807,] at 10 o'clock, A. M., against a strong tide, very rough water, and a violent gale from the north. She made headway beyond the most sanguine expectations, and without being rocked by the waves." Such was the beginning of steam navigation—the noblest material agency of the spirit of the age—the great instrument of "progress."

§ 187. *Further enlargement of the city.*

After the city had gotten fairly over the swampy barrier that for a while confined it to the lower extremity of the island, it extended with unprecedented rapidity, and at the close of the period embraced in

this chapter (1810) it covered more than four times the area that it embraced twenty years before. Broadway had been opened through to the Bowery, and on either side streets were laid out as far up as Amity and Great Jones-streets. In 1808 the corporation of Trinity Church ceded to the city the ground for the streets covering the region extending from St. John's church to Greenwich village, and from Hudson-street to the river. Hudson-square was laid out about the same time. To the east of the Bowery, the streets running eastward were laid out as high up as North (Houston) street, which had been fixed as the permanent boundary of the city; and crossing these the present streets were laid out as far east as Norfolk-street.

§ 188. *Increase of population, commerce, etc.*

The population of the city in 1810 was over ninety-six thousand; having added thirty-six thousand in ten years, and increased nearly threefold in twenty years. The commerce of the city had made an equally encouraging progress down to 1808, when it was suddenly checked by the unsettled state of our foreign affairs, and soon after almost annihilated by the embargo. The duties on foreign goods collected in the port of New-York during the year 1807 amounted to nearly \$8,000,000, and the exports for the same year exceeded \$26,000,000. The auction-tax for 1808 produced over \$24,000; the Brooklyn ferry leased for \$3,050, and the wharves and piers for \$17,000. The amount of market-fees for the next year was over \$6,000, and the tavern-fees as much more. The city's funded debts amounted to \$900,000. But a change was impending.

CHAPTER IX.

NEW-YORK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

§ 189. *Commercial embarrassments—the embargo.*

THE rapid advancement of the city of New-York during the period embraced in the last chapter, resulting from its commercial prosperity, received a serious check before the close of that period. The bloody wars that were raging in Europe during the early part of the present century, especially that between France and Great Britain, greatly embarrassed the commerce of the United States, and at the same time endangered the foreign relations of the government. Accordingly, to prevent collisions, and to secure our commerce from foreign spoliations, a general embargo was, in 1808, imposed by an act of Congress. The effect of this law was fatal to the commerce of the whole country, and of course it was ruinous to the prosperity of New-York. Though the embargo was in force but a few months, (for it was so unacceptable to the people that Congress repealed it at the next session,) yet the loss to the government in duties at the single port of New-York amounted, in the two years, a part of which were embraced in the time of the embargo, as compared with the preceding year, to more than seven millions of dollars; and the exports for those two years were but little more than half of that for the single year of 1807. The repeal of the embargo, and the restoration of comparative quiet in Europe, reassured the merchants of New-York, so that during the ensuing year com-

merce revived again, though it was still much below the point it had reached before the embargo was imposed. The progress of the city was greatly impeded by these interruptions to its commerce, and the consequent depression of all kinds of business among the citizens.

§ 190. *Public defenses projected.*

The unsettled state of European affairs, and the threatening aspect assumed by some of the belligerents toward the United States, suggested the necessity of fortifying more effectually the principal sea-port towns. As early as 1806 some movements in that direction had been made in New-York. The old Potter's-field, at the junction of the Bloomingdale and Post-roads, was ceded to the general government, on which an extensive arsenal was erected. The ground under water off from the Battery was also granted, and a fortress called Castle Clinton erected upon it—the modern Castle Garden. Fort Gansevoort, at Greenwich village, and the battery at the foot of Hubert-street, were constructed about the same time, the whole costing the government several millions of dollars.

§ 191. *Fortification of the harbor.*

In 1807 Colonel Williams, of the United States engineers, made a long report to the common council as to the best mode of fortifying the city and harbor. At his suggestion the fortress on Governor's Island, that bears his name, was afterward built, as well as several other works of defense at the Narrows, and on Ellis's and Bedlow's Islands. The whole amount of ordnance found in and about the city was only about

one hundred and twenty pieces, of all sizes, part of them belonging to the State, and part to the national government. At a little later period the State Arsenal in Elm-street, near the site of the old powder-house in the Collect, was built, and substituted for the old and insufficient one formerly occupied, which stood in Chatham-street, near Tryon Row.

§ 192. *Mayoralty of De Witt Clinton.*

A lull occurred about the year 1810 in the storm of warlike excitement that had been sweeping over the city for some time past, and affairs began again to assume their former quiet and prosperous state. The next year De Witt Clinton, afterward governor of the State, and projector of the great Erie Canal, who, with the exception of two brief intervals of a year each, during which that office was held by Colonel Marinus Willet and Jacob Radcliff respectively, had filled the office of mayor of the city since 1803, was again elected to that office, and continued to fill it, greatly to the advantage of the city, for six years more.

§ 193. *Destructive fire in Chatham-street.*

On the 19th of May, 1811, a destructive fire occurred near the junction of Chatham and Duane-streets. It broke out on Sunday morning, and raged with great violence for several hours. A brisk wind was blowing from the north-east at the time, which so drove the fire before it, that for a while it wholly baffled the efforts of the firemen and citizens. It swept along both sides of Chatham-street, to the open grounds near the City Hall, leveling nearly a hundred buildings in its course. The steeple of the Brick

church, and the cupola of the jail, both caught fire, but were extinguished, one by an intrepid sailor, who ascended the burning spire and removed the ignited portions; the other by an imprisoned debtor, then on the jail limits. Both were liberally rewarded.

§ 194. *Washington market established.*

The next year measures were adopted to secure a more eligible site for a market on the Hudson River. A block, bounded by Fulton and Vesey-streets, on the north and south, and lying between Washington-street and the river, was purchased of Colonel Richard Varick, at a cost of \$42,000, upon which was soon after erected the Bear (Washington) market.

§ 195. *Plan of the city finally established.*

Some years before the time now immediately under notice, the legislature of the State had appointed a board of commissioners, among whom were Gouverneur Morris and De Witt Clinton, to survey and lay out in streets and avenues the whole area of Manhattan Island. This great work was now steadily advancing, and, by its accomplishment, the upper portion of the city has become as remarkable for the excellence of its plan, as some of the older portion is for the opposite properties. This work was not fully completed till several years later, when (in 1821) Mr. John Randall, after ten years' incessant labor, completed the surveys and finished his maps of the whole island above North (Houston) street and Greenwich-lane. This survey cost more than \$30,000, and its worth to the city has proved beyond computation. A "grand parade ground" had been laid out by the commission-

ers, and a square, to be called Union-place, at the junction of Broadway and the Bowery; but after a protracted contest, it was finally decided to reduce the size of the former, and to abolish the latter—though it has since been restored, and is now among the chief ornaments of the city.

§ 196. *War with Great Britain.*

The occurrence of war between the United States and Great Britain in 1812, was highly disastrous to the interests of the city of New-York. Its commerce, which, during the two preceding years, had regained a good measure of its former buoyancy, was at once greatly depressed, and at length almost entirely annihilated. The duties collected at that port during the two years next succeeding the declaration of war amounted to but little over \$20,000, and the gross value of exports for the year 1814 was only about \$200,000. Such a depression of the foreign commerce of the city could not fail to affect every department of business. Goods of foreign production became exceedingly scarce, and prices rose to enormous heights. Those who had on hand large stocks became suddenly rich; and others, by the sudden depression of prices that occurred subsequently, were totally ruined. Much embarrassment and even suffering were experienced by the poorer classes, on account of the failure of all kinds of business, and the exorbitant prices demanded for all the necessaries of living.

§ 197. *Privateering.*

An immediate effect of the declaration of war was the letting loose of a great number of privateers,

many of which were fitted out from New-York. By this legalized piracy a great amount of property belonging to British subjects was plundered at sea, and brought into New-York, where for a while the enriched freebooters glittered in their ill-gotten splendor, and exerted a most corrupting influence on society.

§ 198. *Naval heroes visit New-York.*

In the course of the war several naval prizes were also brought into New-York, and the freedom of the city, and other marks of public favor were awarded to a great number of successful naval commanders. Portraits of several of these were taken at the expense of the corporation, which still adorn the walls of the Governor's Room in the City Hall, and their names are now perpetuated among us by streets that were called after them.

§ 199. *Exposed condition of the city.*

The defenseless condition of the city was at this time such as to give great uneasiness to the more intelligent and discreet of the citizens; for while the multitude were occupied with reports of conflicts and victories in distant parts, the exposed condition of the city to an attack from sea was scarcely thought of by them. At length, however, public attention began to be directed to this subject. The British navy was then riding the ocean in triumph: for if it were proved that our frigates could match theirs at the rates of one to their two, they could, with their combined fleets, give us much more than ten to our one. It was only when single straggling vessels were fallen in with that there was any chance for success to the American navy.

In the summer of 1814 the people of New-York were aroused from their fancied security by information that that city had been selected as the point of descent for a powerful naval and military force, destined to act upon the Atlantic seaboard. Some feeble efforts toward fortifying the city and harbor had been made already; a flotilla of gun-boats had been provided and equipped, and some very inadequate fortifications constructed at the expense of the city.

§ 200. *Fortifications and military defenses.*

The general government now made a requisition on the states of New-York and New-Jersey for twenty thousand militia, to be concentrated in and around the city; and the corporation advanced, under pledges of reimbursement, the funds necessary to meet the expense. Fortified camps were ordered to be formed on the high ground at Harlem and at Brooklyn. A committee of defense was appointed, who called upon the citizens, without distinction of classes, for contributions in labor, toward making the required fortifications. The call thus made was responded to with great alacrity, and companies of from five hundred to a thousand were daily occupied in the work. It was computed that not less than a hundred thousand days' work were thus contributed, in which many persons wholly unused to such occupations wrought diligently for the public defense. A lively feeling of patriotism and of self-reliance was thus awakened among the people, which was itself the surest pledge of the public safety. In Brooklyn a line of fortifications extended from the Wallabout to Gowanus, consisting of forts Green, Firemen's, Masonic, and Law-

rence, with Fort Swift in the rear, commanding Governor's Island. In New-York, a chain of fortifications extended from Hurlgate to the Hudson River. Both of these lines were strongly manned, and furnished with a good supply of artillery, ammunition, and military stores. The forts along the Hudson, and on the islands of the harbor, were bristling with cannon and crowded with soldiers. Commodore Decatur, with a body of seamen, was stationed in front of the city, to defend it by water, should such a service be required. The whole city seemed to be pervaded by the military spirit; and while an attack was daily expected, there appeared to be a readiness, and even a desire for the conflict. But, happily, the day of trial never came.

§ 201. "*Mustering out.*"

A large portion of the militia having been drawn for only three months, the force in the city was greatly reduced before the setting in of the winter. On the last day of November a great military pageant was exhibited on the occasion of the discharge of the three-months' recruits. A line was formed in Broadway, resting on Franklin-street, and extending beyond the junction of Broadway and the Bowery. The column then moved through the principal streets of the city, headed by the governor of the State, Daniel D. Tompkins, acting in his military character as commander-in-chief of the militia of the State, attended by his staff; and, after passing in review, the troops were mustered out of service and discharged. The money with which the discharged troops were paid off was also advanced by the corporation to the amount of half a million dollars, all of which was subsequently

refunded by the general government. News of the signing of a treaty of peace was received a few months later, and was the occasion of a very general joy among the people. A grand illumination took place on the evening of the 19th of February, and the city was again quiet.

§ 202. *Further commercial embarrassments.*

Though New-York had been saved from the horrors of actual war in its midst, it had not failed to suffer greatly as a commercial city in consequence of the public disturbances. An enumeration of the inhabitants, made at the end of 1813, showed a decrease of more than two thousand since 1810. Very few buildings were erected during the five years from 1810 to 1815, while both public and private indebtedness increased to an alarming extent, threatening a universal bankruptcy. The banks at length refused to redeem their issues; the public stocks fell much below their par value, and a general depression was felt in all departments of trade. To supply the lack of specie, the corporation issued an immense amount of small bills, which for a long time was the chief circulating medium in the city. The high prices at which foreign goods were held immediately before the close of the war, induced large importations as soon as peace was restored. The revenue from duties collected at New-York rose from the depression of 1814, when it scarcely exceeded half a million of dollars, to over fourteen millions the succeeding year. The goods thus imported at a cost of not less than two hundred millions, were procured almost exclusively on credit; while the exports for several succeeding years failed to reach

even the moderate standard attained to before the war, and therefore they came vastly short of balancing the costs of the imports. The country was already thoroughly drained of money, and of course the consequence of this excessive importation was commercial embarrassment and bankruptcy. A rapid falling off in the amount of importations took place during the ensuing few years, and in 1820 the amount was considerably less than it had been some twelve or fourteen years before.

§ 203. *Additional public buildings.*

Among the public buildings erected about this time, the most considerable was the alms-house at Bellevue. The purchase of the site has been noticed in another place. The building was begun in 1811, and completed in 1816, at a cost to the city (including that of the penitentiary) of more than four hundred thousand dollars—a noble and well-applied public charity. The poor of the city were immediately removed thither, and the old alms-house in the Park appropriated to other public uses. The new Roman-Catholic cathedral in Mott-street, now opening into Mulberry-street, was completed in 1815, and opened with great ceremony. Its effect has been to render that portion of the city, which till then promised to become one of the most desirable wards, one of the poorest and most debased. It is among the largest ecclesiastical edifices in the city, in the Gothic style of architecture; and, though far from being elegant, it is an imposing and massive public structure. The Presbyterian church in Murray-street was built of stone in 1812, and was, at the time of its erection, among the best constructed

churches in the city. Here the elder Dr. Mason officiated for several years, till compelled to retire by want of health. Tammany Hall was erected in 1811, the Bear-market in 1815, and a few years later, a fire having removed the old wooden buildings from the site now occupied by the Fulton-market, that building was erected to supersede the old Fly (more properly Vly, or Valley) market.

§ 204. *Further public improvements—population.*

The extension of the city and the opening of new streets, though greatly checked, was not wholly suspended by the prostration of business consequent upon the unsettled condition of public affairs. Immediately after the plan of the upper part of the city was definitely arranged, the Third Avenue was ordered to be opened and regulated from Stuyvesant-street to Harlem River; and a few years later a part of the First Avenue was also brought into use. Several of the old streets in the lower part of the city were widened, straightened, and extended. Soon after the return of peace, Broadway above Canal-street, and Spring and Broome-streets began to be occupied with buildings, and that portion of the city advanced rapidly in improvements and population. But the greatest public work of this kind undertaken during this period was the opening of Canal-street. An immense canal was opened from the Collect to the Hudson River, by which a vast extent of low grounds was drained, and the pond itself almost annihilated. Over this canal was thrown an arch of substantial mason-work, upon which was built one of the most spacious and elegant thoroughfares in the city—the whole of which cost about

a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. A few years later the Battery was enlarged and embellished, as it appears at present, and at an expense of more than \$100,000. Castle Clinton was given up by the general government, and, taking the name of Castle Garden, was devoted to purposes of utility and pleasure. The census of 1820 showed that a most gratifying increase of population had occurred during the few past years; it now amounted to 123,706, of whom only 5,084 were aliens, and 528 slaves.

§ 205. *Yellow-fever in 1822.*

In July, 1822, the yellow-fever, from which the city had suffered so severely more than twenty years before, again appeared in New-York. For fifteen years before 1819 it was not known in this city, though during that time it prevailed fatally in some of the more southern cities of the republic. In the summer of that year a few fatal cases occurred in the neighborhood of Old-slip, and produced some consternation in that vicinity, but it did not extend further. But in the year first-named it appeared suddenly in Rector-street, and soon extended through the vicinity and up to Broadway. The epidemical character of the disease was marked and exceedingly malignant, and the contagion unusually active and violent. By the middle of August the epidemical atmosphere overspread all that part of the city that lies below the Park, and the entire population of the infected district fled before it. The Custom-house, banks, and insurance offices, as well as the warehouses of the merchants, were closed and abandoned, or removed to temporary quarters at Greenwich village. The ferry-

boats landed their passengers far up-town. The markets were removed to Chatham-square and Hudson-street, near St. John's Park. The streets leading to the infected district were fenced across, and that whole region of the city became a solitude, traversed only by the city watch and hordes of burglars. The panic among the inhabitants was intense and almost universal. Multitudes fled from the city, and a great many temporary dwellings were hastily constructed in the upper wards, especially at Greenwich village. The epidemic lingered about the lower part of the city till extinguished by the frosts of autumn, when affairs resumed their usual course. But notwithstanding the malignity of the epidemic, the mortality caused by it was not very great, since nearly all the inhabitants removed from the infected district. The whole number of deaths by yellow-fever was under four hundred, and the aggregate mortality in the city for that year was more than three hundred less than during the preceding year. Since then the yellow-fever has not made its appearance in the city of New-York.

§ 206. *Mayoralty of Stephen Allen.*

For three years from 1821, the office of mayor was held by Stephen Allen, Esq., a gentleman of great worth and energy of character, who from poverty and obscurity had risen to wealth by successful industry, and to public confidence by unwavering integrity. At the beginning of his term of service the salary of the mayor, which hitherto had been unsettled and variable, and paid in part by fees, was fixed at three thousand dollars a year. The duties and functions of the

office were also better defined, and, ceasing to act as a judicial officer, the mayor became properly the chief executive magistrate of the municipality. The new mayor also brought with him into his public trust the same habits of order and energy by which he had been so eminently successful in his private affairs. The finances of the city were found by him in a very unsatisfactory condition, and at his suggestion measures of retrenchment and economy were adopted, and also plans for the more perfect development of the city's resources. These measures have effected much for the prosperity of the city, and but few of her chief magistrates have conferred greater or more substantial favor than did Mr. Allen, who is justly ranked as a worthy compeer and successor of those great public benefactors who had held the same office before him—of James Duane and Richard Varick, of De Witt Clinton and Cadwallader D. Colden.

§ 207. *Increase of the city.*

At this time the city of New-York was increasing with unprecedented rapidity. From actual enumeration, it appeared that in the year 1824 more than sixteen hundred new houses were erected, nearly all of them brick or stone. The price of real estate was also greatly increased. The erection of churches and other public edifices had become so frequent an occurrence as to forbid notice of each particular case. On the west side of the island the city proper was verging nearly to Greenwich village, which was also expanding into a large and well-built suburban ward. Eastward from the Bowery a settlement was springing up quite beyond the compact part of the city. In the

middle portion, on both sides of Broadway, were many half-rural residences of retired merchants and men of wealth. The old Potters-field was becoming an obstacle to the city's progress in that vicinity, and it was accordingly determined to level and grade it, to be kept as a public promenade—the present Washington-square.

§ 208. *The Erie Canal celebration—growth.*

Down to this time the progress of New-York had resulted almost entirely from its foreign commerce and river-navigation; but now public attention began to be directed to the internal resources of the country. New impulse was given to inland-trade by the opening of several small canals, and the successful adoption of canal-navigation. But in 1825 all other works of that kind were wholly eclipsed by the completion of the gigantic Erie Canal. This great event, destined to exert so powerful an influence on the future growth of the city, was celebrated in New-York, in the month of November, by an aquatic procession, and the significant ceremony of pouring water brought from Lake Erie into the sea-water of New-York Bay. The anticipation then entertained of advantage from this great enterprise has been much more than realized. For several succeeding years the progress of the city was steadily and uninterruptedly onward. In 1830 the population exceeded two hundred thousand, while the wealth and resources of the city were increasing in a still greater ratio. The style of building was greatly improved, and all the outer aspects of the city gave evidence of its increased pecuniary resources.

§ 209. *The cholera of 1832 and 1834.*

But in 1832, after ten years of uninterrupted public health, as well as of unparalleled commercial prosperity, the city was visited by a fearful and most destructive epidemic, that caused a great fatality, and for a while seriously interrupted the growth of the city. Some fifteen years before, the Asiatic cholera, after having existed for ages as a local disease in India, became epidemical and migratory. Since that time it had traversed Western Asia, and Middle and Northern Europe, strewing its pathway with tens of thousands of victims; and in June of this year it reached this continent, first at Quebec, and soon after in New-York. Its ravages continued for about three months, during which time thousands suffered from its attacks, in more or less malignant forms. Of the well-defined cases of the epidemic about one-half proved fatal, and the aggregate mortality by cholera alone amounted to over thirty-five hundred. Unlike the yellow-fever, this disease was fixed to no definite localities, nor were its attacks confined to particular classes of persons; though the usual incentives to disease—intemperance, filthiness, and want of wholesome and nutritious food—were found to invite it, and increase its malignity. Nor could it be avoided by flight. Such was the mysterious character of the disease that it often prevailed most fatally in localities accounted peculiarly healthy, and it was evidently sometimes invited by the very means adopted to escape or prevent it. A great part of the inhabitants forsook the city, some of whom fell victims to the disease in their rural retreats,—for the epidemic was frequently more

fatal in country places than in the large cities. Business suffered greatly, and the progress of the city was for a while sensibly checked. The disease returned again during the latter part of the summer of 1834; but it created comparatively little excitement, and the whole mortality amounted to less than one thousand. After this it wholly disappeared, and was not again felt for fifteen years.

§ 210. *Great fire of December, 1835.*

The effects produced by these visitations of disease began to be forgotten, when the commercial interests of the city received a severe shock from another and very different cause. On the night of the 16th of December, 1835, a fire broke out near the foot of Maiden-lane, which, owing to the intense coldness of the weather, and the want of a supply of water, completely baffled the efforts of the firemen, and burned on without control, till it was arrested by a breach made before it, by blowing up the houses with gunpowder. More than six hundred buildings, including the Custom-house and Merchants' Exchange, were destroyed, besides an immense amount of valuable merchandise, the whole value of which has been estimated at nearly twenty millions of dollars.

§ 211. *Financial crisis of 1836-7.*

This disaster was followed almost immediately by one of the most extensive commercial revulsions known in the history of this country, by which, for a time, both public and private credit was prostrated, and many of the wealthiest merchants in the city involved in hopeless bankruptcy. But the storm again

passed off, and a few years restored the former activity and energy of the great mercantile metropolis, while the city continued to increase and expand in every direction. The general census for 1840 showed an aggregate population of 312,852—an increase of fifty per cent. over that of ten years previous.

§ 212. *Completion of the Croton aqueduct—cholera in 1849.*

In 1842 the Croton aqueduct, the greatest work of the kind accomplished in modern times, was completed—of which a fuller account will be given in another place. In 1845 another great fire occurred, accompanied by a tremendous and fatal explosion, on Broad-street and Broadway, and the streets in that vicinity. The loss of property by that fire was estimated at five millions; but the time being one of general commercial activity, it occasioned but little interruption to the growth and prosperity of the city. In 1849 the cholera again visited the city, and prevailed during the summer. It caused comparatively little excitement, though it proved scarcely less malignant than at its first visitation. The mortality, as compared with the cases of attack, was about the same as in 1832, and the whole number of deaths exceeded five thousand, while the mortality from ordinary diseases was also greatly augmented.

§ 213. *Population and extent of the city in 1850.*

The first half of the nineteenth century closed upon the city of New-York, leaving it in the full tide of commercial and social prosperity. Its population, by an unparalleled increase, had attained to more than half a million, and its vast suburbs contained nearly

half as many more. Of the new part of the inhabitants a large portion were of foreign birth, chiefly natives of Ireland and Germany. The influence of these strangers has doubtless been unfavorable to the morals and manners of society; though there is reason to believe that the assimilating tendencies of our institutions will rapidly remedy these imported evils. For these social evils some compensation is offered in the contribution to the material wealth of the city in the form of labor—as these foreigners now perform most of the heavy service required by the public and private improvements of the city.

CHAPTER X.

NEW-YORK AS IT IS.

§ 214. *The transformation.*

GREAT changes have occurred in the locality now occupied by the city of New-York since the ship of the discoverer first entered its quiet waters, or even since the burgomasters and schepens of New-Amsterdam resigned the infant metropolis to its English captors. A period of less than two centuries has sufficed to convert a cluster of trading-houses and rude huts into a well-grown city, ranking among the few largest in the world—there being but two greater in Europe, and none to rival it in America. Where the Indian paddled his light canoe, and feebly contended with the elements, now the mighty packet-ship or ocean-steamer floats in safety, and laughs at the impotent fury of the storm. The tangled thickets that fringed these shores have given place to the denser floating forests of spars and cordage; the silence of desolation that was broken only by the savage war-whoop, is replaced by the din of commerce and the busy hum of the peaceful multitude; the lonely foot-path is gone, but its place is occupied by broad streets and long avenues, thronged with the moving population, and gay with social life. The cruel rites of superstition are here no more celebrated, but in their place rise the temples of the living God, in which are taught the pure words of truth, and the mysteries of an ennobling faith are solemnized.

§ 215. *Extent of the city.*

Of the whole area of Manhattan Island about one-fifth part, at the southern extremity, is occupied by the compactly-built portion of the city. Another fifth part is covered by the partially-regulated outskirts. Of the remaining portion, some parts are still covered with the primeval forests, or are under tillage; others are sites of suburban villages, or of gentlemen's country-seats, and of a variety of benevolent institutions. As far up as Fourteenth-street, or nearly three miles from the Battery, the whole area is densely occupied by buildings. From that line to Forty-second street—till recently the southern boundary of the rural ward of the city—the ground is only partially built upon, the population being less and less dense according to the distance up-town. In nearly all this portion, however, the streets are opened, and most of them regulated and paved. Above the last-named line the characteristics of the city gradually diminish; only a part of the streets are opened, and many of these are but partially regulated.

§ 216. *Streets and avenues.*

The streets of New-York are generally very well adapted to the purposes of public thoroughfares. Except in the extreme southern section of the city, where are still found a few narrow and crooked passages, they are generally sufficiently roomy and regular. Without the rigid exactness of plan that distinguishes some other cities, whose future greatness was provided for from their beginning, New-York unites, in very pleasing proportions, variety with regularity. The

streets vary in width from fifty to one hundred feet, and in length from a single block to nearly the whole extent of the city. All of these thoroughfares consist of a paved carriage-way, skirted on both sides by flagged walks for foot-passengers. The carriage-ways are almost universally paved with water-worn stones of from five to twenty-five pounds' weight, which abound in the diluvial deposits of the island. These make a firm and durable foundation, but their inequalities make the streets paved with them terribly rough, and occasion a fearful amount of noise and clamor. A variety of expedients has been talked of for remedying these evils, but none has yet proved practically available. A few years since a trial was made of wooden blocks, instead of paving-stones, but the experiment was not satisfactory. The Russ-pavement, composed of blocks of granite about ten inches square, resting upon a bed of broken stones, made solid with cement, has been adopted in Broadway, and, to a small extent, in a few other places; but though its excellence is all that could be asked, its expensiveness forbids its general use.

§ 217. *Great thoroughfares.*

A hasty glance over a plan of the city will suffice to detect certain great features, from which the inferior parts may be the better considered. Of these Broadway is the most notable, since it serves as the vertebral column to the whole city. This great avenue, eighty feet wide, extends from the southern extremity of the island north-easterly (N. 36° E.) to Union-square, on Fourteenth-street, in a direct line, except a slight curve near its northern termination;

and is at once the great retail mart and the principal thoroughfare of the city. At the lower point of the Park, another principal avenue (Chatham-street) leads off to the right toward the north-eastern part of the city, and terminates nearly half a mile beyond in a broad triangular area, known as Chatham-square. From the northern angle of this square the Bowery—a portion of the old “Boston-road”—leads, by a nearly due north course, to the Third and Fourth avenues, discharging most of its vast flood of travel into the former, and ending in the latter at Sixth-street. From the south-eastern angle of Chatham-square, East-Broadway (formerly Harmon-street) runs a little to the north of east to the neighborhood of Corlear’s Hook. Parallel with this street, on the northerly side, and starting from the same point with the Bowery, is Division-street, the line of demarkation between two of the great sections of the city, and also one of the great retail marts. West of Broadway are several leading streets, running parallel with the river, of which Hudson, Greenwich, and Washington-streets are the most considerable.

§ 218. *Historical divisions—down-town.*

In considering the plan of the present city of New-York, it will be seen that the city consists of a number of natural divisions, each having its own historical original. Of these the oldest occupies the site of the Dutch town of New-Amsterdam, lying wholly below Wall-street,—a portion still distinguished by its short, narrow, and irregular streets, notwithstanding all that has been done to remedy these original blemishes. But even here there is a plan easily discernible. Broad-

way, Broad-street, and William-street, (the Vly,) are the leading avenues ; while Pearl-street takes its irregular direction to accommodate itself to the natural ground-plot of the city. The second portion is that which was added during the continuance of the British sway over the province, extending from Wall-street to the Park and Beekman's Swamp. The plan of this portion is the same as the former, being pierced by the same leading streets, and traversed by cross streets generally parallel with Wall-street. This portion of the city was extended soon after the Revolution quite up to the Fresh Water, and the belt of low ground that extended on both sides of that body of water to either river. As the shores of the two rivers diverge by a pretty broad angle, the area of the city necessarily became triangular, rendering a regular arrangement of the streets somewhat difficult. Along both rivers the streets were laid down as nearly as possible parallel with the shores, across which were drawn other streets, cutting them at right angles. On the south-eastern side this plan was quite conveniently adjusted up as far as Chatham-street, as that avenue is nearly parallel with the shore off against it. On the west side, Broadway and the river diverge very considerably, and while the streets next to the river run parallel with it, those toward Broadway take its direction, making additional streets necessary as the city advanced outward. The transverse direction of Canal-street also adds to the irregularity of this portion of the town. Between Broadway and Chatham-street the Collect for a long time withstood the progress of the city, and at last it gave way by such slow degrees that this part of the town is only partially conformed to the general plan.

§ 219. *The middle and eastern sections.*

After the passage of the Collect the city soon spread itself over another and greater portion of Manhattan Island, extending from the Hudson River to the Bowery, and upward to the neighborhood of Hudson, Washington, and Union-squares. Beyond this line, toward the Hudson, lies what was originally Greenwich village, now making an integral portion of the city, but still retaining its own anomalous ground-plan—an account of which is given in another place. About the same period, the region to the east of the Bowery, up as far as North, or Houston-street, was incorporated into the city proper. To the west of Broadway the former plan of the city was continued without any material change. Between Broadway and the Bowery the leading streets were arranged in conformity with those great thoroughfares, while the cross-streets were drawn, as nearly as might be, perpendicular to them. Along the shore of the East River, from Catharine-street to Corlaer's Hook, a series of streets were drawn parallel with the shore, as far back as Division-street, which were intersected with others nearly at right angles, reaching up as far as Harmon (East-Broadway) or Division-street. Between the Bowery and the East River, to the north of Corlaer's Hook, and between Division-street on the south and North (Houston) street on the north, was laid out in regular squares a large quarter of the city's area. Between the Bowery and East River are twenty-two streets, and between Division and Houston-streets are eight, cutting the former at right angles, and making between a hundred and fifty and two hundred blocks of build-

ings, nearly all of which are occupied by dwelling houses.

§ 220. *Up-town.*

The last of the historical sections of the city is that large portion of the island which, forty years since, was ordered to be laid out into regular streets and avenues, and which includes all that had not then been so laid out. The plan of this part of the city is arranged with mathematical exactness, and without regard to the accidental or local peculiarities of the form or surface of the ground-plot. Lengthwise of the island, and in a line with the general direction of the two parallel shores, eleven great avenues were projected, from seven hundred to one thousand feet apart, extending from the regulated portion of the city to Harlem River. These avenues are numbered from east to west, and outside of the eleventh is a partial twelfth one, to cover some projections along the Hudson. A considerable part of the First-avenue is also submerged in the East River. To the east of First-avenue, below Bellevue, is a large triangular piece of ground, through which four avenues, parallel with the others, were laid down, and designated by the letters of the alphabet, from A to D. The broad space between the Third and Fourth-avenues seemed to demand another leading street, which has accordingly been laid out and opened; this is called Lexington-avenue. For a like reason Madison-avenue has been opened between Fourth and Fifth-avenues.

Across these avenues were next laid out a series of parallel streets, numbering nearly two hundred, and extending from North-street, which was from that time called Houston-street, to the upper part of the

island. These streets vary in width from sixty to one hundred feet, and are separated by blocks two hundred feet deep; so that twenty streets and blocks on the avenues are equal to a mile. The first three of these streets are wholly east of the Bowery. Fourth-street crosses both the Bowery and Broadway, and extends westward till stopped by the irregularities of Greenwich village. From the Fourth to the Eighth the streets are more or less interrupted, and none of the first twelve extend quite to the Hudson. Fourteenth-street is the first that extends, without interruption, from river to river. This is one of the noblest streets in the whole city, one hundred feet wide, perfectly straight, and so regularly swelling upward to the middle of the island that both rivers are plainly seen from its principal elevation.

§ 221. *Civil divisions.*

In 1825 a new distribution of the city into wards was made, which remains, for the most part, to the present time. All below Fourteenth-street, which was esteemed the utmost limit of the city proper, was divided into eleven wards. Of these, the First Ward occupies the extreme southern point of the city. The Third, Fifth, Eighth, and Ninth, lie along the Hudson—the last comprising Greenwich village. The Second, Fourth, and Seventh, lie between the East River and Chatham and Division-streets. The Tenth and Eleventh lie to the east of the Bowery, and the Sixth between the Bowery and Broadway. The Twelfth Ward included all above Fourteenth-street, and, being a rural district, it was not subjected to such laws and regulations as pertained especially to muni-

cipal affairs. But the increase of the upper portions of the city presently demanded the formation of new wards by the division of some of the old ones. Tenth Ward was first divided, making the Thirteenth; next the Sixth, the Fourteenth being formed out of its upper half. Fifteenth Ward was taken from the eastern portion of the Ninth. It was at length found necessary to extend the city laws over a large portion of the Twelfth Ward, and accordingly a new ward—the Sixteenth—was erected, embracing all the region extending from Fourteenth to Fortieth-street. The Seventeenth Ward was formed by the division of the Eleventh; the Eighteenth was made by cutting off from the Sixteenth all east of Sixth-avenue. The Nineteenth Ward comprises so much of the old Twelfth as lies between Fortieth and Eighty-sixth-street; and, last of all, the Twentieth was formed by the division of the Sixteenth Ward. Each of these wards are allowed an alderman and an assistant-alderman, to represent their inhabitants in the Common Council of the city, and each constitutes a police district.

§ 222. *Public grounds—the Battery.*

Next to the streets and avenues of the city, its public grounds are objects of attention. With these New-York is less liberally supplied than could be desired, owing to a short-sighted economy at an earlier stage of its history. Yet our city is far from being altogether destitute of these embellishments, as the following enumeration will sufficiently prove:—

Beginning at the southern extremity, we have first the *Battery*, a segment of a circular belt, containing over ten acres, looking directly out upon the bay and

harbor, and beautifully laid out and shaded. Formerly this was one of the most fashionable promenades in the city; and it was in reference to its condition in this season of its glory that the sentimental chronicler of New-Amsterdam thus apostrophizes it:—"The favorite walk of declining age; the healthful resort of the feeble invalid; the holiday refreshment of the dusty tradesman; the scene of many a boyish gambol; the rendezvous of many a tender assignation; the comfort of the citizen; the ornament of New-York, and the pride of the lovely island of Manhatta." But the removal of the great body of the wealthy families to the upper part of the city, and the occupation of the lower wards by warehouses and immigrant boarding-houses, have quite changed the character of the frequenters of this truly lovely promenade.

§ 223. *The Bowling-green, etc.*

Just above the Battery, at the foot of Broadway, is the *Bowling-green*,—an ellipse of a little more than a quarter of an acre, inclosed by an iron fence, and ornamented with a fountain. Its historical associations have already been sufficiently noticed.

Hanover-square, at the junction of Pearl and William-streets; *Franklin-square*, formed by a curve in Pearl-street and the beginning of Cherry-street; and *Chatham-square*, at the junction of Chatham-street, Bowery, and East-Broadway, are only broad triangles in the public streets, uninclosed, and paved in the usual manner. Several other similar squares, or, more properly, triangles, are found in different portions of the city.

§ 224. *The Park—Hudson-square.*

The City Park, bounded by Broadway, Chatham, Center, and Chambers-streets, contains more than eleven acres of ground, and is well fenced and ornamented. In its center is the City Hall; on the east side, the Hall of Records; toward the north-east corner, the Rotunda, originally designed for a picture-gallery, but now occupied by public offices; and on the north side, directly behind the City Hall, is a range of buildings, formerly the city alms-house, but now principally used by several of the numerous courts that hold their sessions in this city. Toward the southern extremity of the Park is the fountain, which throws a large jet of water seventy feet high, and has a circular basin, a hundred feet in diameter, inclosed by a beautiful marble border, between which and the railing at the outside is a space of twelve feet wide, embellished with shrubs and flowers.

Hudson-square, or *St. John's Park*, is a finely-ornamented inclosure of about four acres, lying between Hudson and Varick-streets, immediately in front of St. John's church, and is held for the use of owners of property in the vicinity, and only those to whom the privilege is specially conceded, are permitted to enjoy its walks.

§ 225. *Washington and Union-squares, and Gramercy Park.*

Washington-square, bounded by Wooster, Fourth, and M'Dougal-streets and Waverley-place—a parallelogram of nearly ten acres—was formed from the old Potters-field, with the addition of a portion of ground procured for the purpose of completing the square.

It was at first intended to be used as a parade, but is now devoted exclusively to the purposes of a public promenade. It is among the most frequented and agreeable walks in the city.

Union-square, on Fourth-avenue, between Fourteenth and Seventeenth-streets, is an elliptical figure, whose greater diameter is more than twice the less, and its whole area about one acre. It is very finely ornamented, with an elegant fountain, and beautiful walks and shrubbery, and the whole inclosed by a substantial iron railing. Being located among the wealthiest portion of the population of the city—the celebrated “upper ten thousand”—it is a fashionable resort, though perfectly free to all classes of society.

Gramercy Park contains a little more than one acre of ground, situated between Third and Fourth-avenues, and Twentieth and Twenty-first-streets. It is a beautifully-ornamented promenade, and, though private property, it is readily accessible to all orderly and well-disposed persons.

§ 226. *Tompkins, Stuyvesant, and Madison-squares, etc.*

Tompkins-square is in the north-eastern section of the city, between Avenues A and B, and reaching from Seventh to Tenth-street. It contains over ten acres; and as the city in that quarter advances it is becoming more and more a valuable public walk.

Stuyvesant-square consists of two parallelograms, lying on either side of Second-avenue, and reaching from Fifteenth to Seventeenth-street. These grounds have been but recently inclosed and ornamented, and there is no cause to doubt that they will soon be among the finest in the city.

On Fifth-avenue, extending to Madison-avenue, and between Twenty-third and Twenty-sixth-streets, an extensive area has been laid out, to be called *Madison-square*. And between Fifth and Sixth-avenues, on Fortieth-street, is *Reservoir-square*, occupied in part by the Distributing Reservoir, and in part just now about to be devoted to the use of the great Crystal Palace, for the exhibition of the productions of the industry of all nations in the summer of 1853.

§ 227. *Squares projected.*

Beyond the city proper several large public squares have been projected, some of which have received the necessary legalization, and probably most of them will, in future years, be occupied for the purposes to which they have been thus devoted.

Bloomingdale-square, on Eighth-avenue and Fifty-third-street, is designed to occupy eighteen acres; *Hamilton-square*, on Fourth-avenue and Sixty-sixth-street, twenty-four acres. This square occupies a most elevated position; and if completed according to its design, it will be among the finest suburban walks in the vicinity of New-York.

Manhattan-square, on Ninth-avenue and Seventy-seventh-street, covers four entire blocks; *Observatory-place*, between Fourth and Fifth-avenues, contains twenty-five acres; and *Mount Morris*, on both sides of Fifth-avenue, between One-hundred-and-twentieth and One-hundred-and-twenty-fourth-streets, about twenty acres. This last is situated in the vicinity of the ancient village of Harlem.

THE NEW-YORK CRYSTAL PALACE.



W. ORR SC. N.Y.



CHAPTER XI.

WATER-WORKS—LIGHT.

§ 228. *Ante-revolutionary projects.*

A COPIOUS supply of pure fresh water is among the most important requisites of a great city. It has ever been found that the ordinary natural resources for the supply of this necessity are inadequate to such demands, and hence that it is necessary to convey water in large quantities from a distance. The attention of the people of New-York was directed to this subject at quite an early period of the city's history, and schemes were projected to meet the public demands; but nothing definite was undertaken till just before the period of the Revolution.

About the year 1774 a project was set on foot to construct a public reservoir on the east side of Broadway, near its present junction with Franklin-street, which was to be supplied with water drawn from the Collect, and forced up by a steam-engine. The necessary legal authority was given to the corporation by the provincial legislature, with the privilege of issuing paper money for that purpose to the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds. A portion of this money was actually put in circulation, but the coming on of the revolutionary war put an end to the whole enterprise.

§ 229. *Post-revolutionary projects.*

After the return of peace this subject was revived, but the financial condition of the city was not such as

would warrant great public outlays. The projects discussed generally looked no farther than to the springs, and wells, and water-courses, on Manhattan Island for a supply. The "Tea-water pump," which was a large natural fountain, situated near the present junction of Chatham and Pearl-streets, was in great repute, and for a long time a large portion of the citizens were supplied from it by means of casks carried upon carts. But in 1798 a report was presented to the Common Council, by a committee appointed to investigate the subject, recommending the introduction of the waters of the Bronx River into the city. The Bronx is a stream of moderate volume, rising in the central part of Westchester County, and, flowing southward, through White Plains and West Farms, it falls into the East River, a few miles above Harlem River. In consequence of the recommendation of the committee, an examination of that river was made by suitable engineers, and the project declared to be feasible. The proposed work now seemed likely to be carried out, but presently the matter took another turn.

§ 230. *The Manhattan Company.*

At this time party strifes ran high throughout the nation, and entered into nearly all the affairs of the community. In New-York, all the banks were subject to the control of the ruling (federal) party, and were used to promote its designs. The notorious Aaron Burr was then a member of the legislature of New-York, and, with his characteristic shrewdness, he laid hold of the popularity of the water-project to forward his partisan purposes. He procured an act of incorporation for a company, (the Manhattan,) in

which should be invested the right of supplying the city with water, and having also the privilege of using its surplus capital in banking. This last privilege, which seemed to be only incidental and quite subordinate to the chief design of the company, was really its principal purpose. Something, however, was done in the way of supplying the city with water. A well was sunk back of the City Hall, near the south-west corner of the Collect, from which the water was forced up by a steam-engine into a reservoir in Chambers-street, elevated fifteen feet above Broadway, and thence distributed by wooden pipes over most of the city. But banking was the business that chiefly occupied the attention of the Manhattan Company, and consequently less attention was devoted to its first ostensible business than the wants of the city demanded. The supply of water was also found to be inadequate to the requirements of the city, and its quality deteriorated as the surrounding space became occupied with streets and dwellings.

§ 231. *The up-town reservoir.*

Among the plans that occupied public attention at one time, was one to bring the waters of the Housatonic into this city by means of a canal, extending hence to Sharon in Connecticut. Artesian wells were also talked of, and the plan of introducing the Bronx River revived and urged anew.

In 1829, in consequence of the ravages of fire during the preceding year, a plan was adopted to establish a great general reservoir far up-town, to be supplied from a well, and to distribute its contents through every portion of the city by means of iron pipes, to be

laid through the principal streets. This plan was carried out, so far as the construction of the reservoir and a partial laying down of the pipes was concerned; but the supply of water from the well proved totally insufficient.

§ 232. *The Croton project.*

While this plan was thus in a course of unsuccessful experiment, another was undertaken, which was destined not only to fill the empty reservoir and pipes, but to make the city of New-York as famous for the superiority of its water-works as it had been for their inferiority. Public attention was, in 1830, directed to the Croton River as a source of supply of the much-needed element. A definite survey of the route was made two years later, and though most of the engineers reported unfavorably, it was strongly commended by De Witt Clinton, jr., as the only source on which the city should rely. The next year, Major Douglass was appointed to examine the several plans of supplying the city, and especially the routes to the Bronx and Croton Rivers. The facts elicited by this survey seem to have caused the public mind to preponderate decidedly in favor of the last-named river. From that time the measure was prosecuted steadily to its consummation, when, on the 4th of July, 1842, the president of the Board of Commissioners, under whose auspices the work had been accomplished, opened the gates of the new reservoir, and the water of the Croton, that had been diverted from its natural channel forty miles from the city, rushed into the pipes that thirteen years before had been laid down, but had found no water to fill them.

§ 233. *Sources of the Croton River.*

The Croton River, which was thus suddenly introduced to city life, is a pure fresh-water stream, rising in a somewhat elevated region comprising the eastern portion of Putnam County. Near the dividing-line between Westchester and Putnam Counties, three large brooks, known as the East, the Middle, and the West branches, unite to form the Croton River. By tracing these streams upward, they are found to spread out into a vast number of smaller tributaries, collecting the waters of innumerable springs, and receiving the overflowings of a large number of sylvan lakes, that cover an extent of more than thirteen hundred acres. A few miles lower, the Croton is increased by the confluence of the Muscoot River from the north, and Cross River from the south. The former stream rises in Lake Mahopac, in the southern part of Putnam County, and also receives the overflowings of three other considerable ponds; the aggregate area of all which amounts to about fifteen hundred acres. Cross River drains a considerable region of country in the neighborhood of Bedford, and also receives the waters of Long Pond, a sheet of pure water measuring about eight hundred acres.

§ 234. *Supply and character of its waters.*

The supply of the Croton River is thus seen to be from natural lakes or ponds, covering more than three thousand six hundred acres, all of which may be easily converted into reservoirs for additional supplies whenever needed. The supplies of these ponds are drawn almost entirely from springs scattered over the ele-

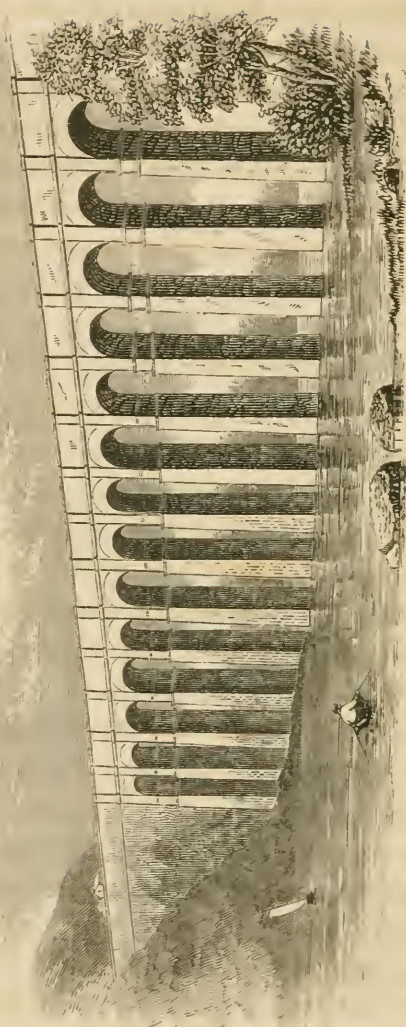
vated region in which they are situated, or from natural fountains in their own beds. That region being an elevated granitic formation, and chiefly occupied as a grazing country—being too rough to admit of extensive tillage—the purity of its streams seems to be forever secured. The water is perfectly clear, and almost totally free from saline or other foreign admixtures.

§ 235. *The river and lake.*

The course of the Croton River, which in the higher parts is south or south-westerly, after the confluence of the Muscoot, turns nearly westward, and falls into the Hudson a few miles above the village of Sing-Sing. Five miles below the junction of the Muscoot with the Croton is the upper end of Croton Lake—the first of the artificial reservoirs of these famous water-works. The lake is formed by a dam thrown across the river, by which the water is thrown back for four miles, and about four hundred acres of land inundated. Its shape is very irregular, owing to the inequalities of the ground along the river banks; its depth varies from fifty feet downward; its capacity, above the bottom of the aqueduct, is estimated at five hundred millions of gallons, and its daily discharge is equal to thirty-five millions of gallons. About two miles above the dam, the lake is crossed by Pine's Bridge, a place and crossing somewhat celebrated in our revolutionary history.

§ 236. *The dam.*

The dam itself is a grand and imposing structure. It is laid upon the rocky bed of the river, from which it rises forty feet upward, and extends two hundred



THE HIGH BRIDGE.

and eighty feet from bank to bank. The face of the dam is built of hewn granite, over which the water tumbles with a fall of forty feet. About one-third of the way across from the eastern end of the dam is the gatehouse, built on a pier in the midst of the stream, where is also the sluiceway for relieving the dam, or reducing the level of the water in the lake. The gatehouse is reached by a bridge from the eastern shore, constructed immediately over the curve of the surface of the water.

§ 237. *Course and length of the aqueduct.*

At the eastern bank, just above the dam, the aqueduct receives its waters from the lake, which is elevated one hundred and sixty feet above the Hudson River, six miles below, at mean tide. From the dam the aqueduct follows the southern bank of the Croton nearly to its mouth, and then passes down the eastern shore of the Hudson, with a declivity of thirteen and a quarter inches to the mile, to the high grounds above Harlem River, about midway between the Hudson and East Rivers. Here it is carried over the Harlem River on a magnificent and lofty bridge, fourteen hundred and fifty feet long, and one hundred and fourteen above tide-water; and thence it is led over valleys and through hills to the great Receiving Reservoir, at Eighty-sixth-street, near Yorkville. This reservoir is a vast artificial lake, covering thirty-five acres, and containing a hundred and fifty million gallons of water. Here the great trunk of the aqueduct terminates, being from the dam to the upper reservoir forty and a half miles long. Below this point the masonry gives place to large iron pipes, by which the

water is conveyed to the lower reservoir, and thence distributed to all parts of the city.

The face of the country through which the aqueduct passes presents very great obstacles to the construction of such a work. It was necessary to cut down hills and fill up valleys, to cross streams and to pierce through rocks. On the line of the aqueduct are no less than one hundred and fourteen culverts, with an aggregate length of seven thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine feet, and sixteen tunnels varying from one hundred and sixty to twelve hundred and sixty-three feet in length, amounting in all to six thousand eight hundred and forty-one feet.

§ 238. *Its structure and dimensions.*

The internal dimensions of the aqueduct are truly capacious. At its completion, the commissioners and engineers made a journey through its entire length on foot. After it had been partially filled with water, the same route was made by four persons in a boat prepared for the purpose. The greatest interior width of the trunk is seven feet five inches, and its greatest height eight feet five and a half inches, and it is estimated to be capable of discharging twenty-seven millions of gallons daily. The workmanship of the aqueduct is of the most substantial character possible. The foundation was first accurately graded, and then covered with a thick layer of broken stones and water-cement, upon which was laid a floor of solid masonry. The side-walls are of solid stone-work, lined with brick, while the roof is an arch of brick-work overlaid with a floor of cement. Every part of the structure is so covered with earth as to be quite out

of the reach of the influences of atmospherical changes. At intervals of half a mile are chimneys of cut stone, that serve as ventilators, and secure a proper atmospheric pressure upon the stream.

The Distributing Reservoir is located between Fortieth and Forty-second-streets, and between Fifth and Sixth-avenues, covering two large blocks, and is capable of holding twenty millions of gallons. The walls of this basin are about forty feet above the level of that elevated part of the island. From this reservoir the water is distributed to all parts of the city by cast-iron pipes, laid through the streets from three to four feet under ground. The length of pipe already laid down (1850) amounts to nearly two hundred miles.

§ 239. *Magnitude of the enterprise.*

In magnitude of design and durability of construction, the Croton Aqueduct is incomparably beyond any similar structure of modern times, and even rivals the most celebrated water-works of antiquity. As an instance of public spirit and enlarged liberality in a free people, it stands preëminent. It was constructed at an expense of nine millions of dollars, raised by a self-imposed tax, by a single city, during a period of great commercial embarrassment, and in the face of great natural difficulties. The immediate advantages derived from the Croton water are quite sufficient to satisfy every one that the enterprise abundantly repays its cost. It has greatly enhanced the comfort and convenience of all classes of citizens, promoted sobriety and cleanliness, diminished the malignity of disease, afforded facilities for mechanical opera-

tions, and given increased security against the ravages of fire. But the present generation can never realize the full value of this gigantic enterprise. When the population of the city shall be numbered by millions, and a thousand new uses for this living current shall have been discovered, and the whole made subservient to the physical and moral welfare of the whole population of the chief city of the western world, the renown of the projectors of this great work will rise commensurate with the greatness of the city to which they have contributed so valuable an endowment.

§ 240. *Illumination—primitive methods.*

The lighting of the streets of the city by night is a subject of municipal economy second in importance only to a supply of pure water. In 1697, when the city watch consisted of "four sober men," on account of "the great inconvenience that attends this city for the want of having light, *in the dark time of the moon, in the winter time,*" it was ordered "that all and every of the housekeepers in this city shall put lights in their windows fronting the respective streets of said city." This plan was soon found too expensive, and it also was thought to afford an unnecessary amount of light, and accordingly the order was so modified as to require "that every seventh house do hang out a *pole*, with a lantern and candle; and the said seven houses to pay equal portions of the expense."

More than sixty years later public lamps began to be set up in the principal streets. From that time downward an increasing amount of public attention was given to the subject. Lamps for burning oil

were set up in all the public thoroughfares, which were maintained and kept in order at the public expense. But the insufficiency of this manner of illuminating is known to every one, and when its aid was most needed it served little other purpose than to make the darkness visible. But the discovery and use of gas-light has wrought a great revolution in this matter.

§ 241. *Gas-light.*

In 1823 *the New-York Gas-light Company*, with a capital of a million dollars, was incorporated, to which company was given the exclusive right, for thirty years, to supply with gas-light all that part of the city lying to the south of Grand and Canal-streets. The works of this company were, till recently, situated on Center-street, near Canal and Hester-streets; but they have lately been removed to new buildings erected for that purpose on the East River, near the foot of Twenty-third-street. Gas-pipes have been laid down in most of the streets of that portion of the city to which the operations of this company are exclusively directed, and most of the street-lamps, and many stores and private dwellings, are lighted with its gas.

The Manhattan Gas-light Company, incorporated in 1830, is the rival of the preceding, and enjoys, by contract, the privilege of lighting all that portion of the city not included in the contract with that company. Its capital was at first half a million of dollars, but it has since been increased to a million. The buildings of this company are situated at the foot of Eighteenth-street, on the North River.

§ 242. *Quality of the light.*

The light afforded by the gas of these companies is of a pure white color, and exceedingly brilliant. The contrast between the flood of light that pours from its lamps, and the dim flickering of the oil lamps, is most striking—to say nothing of the times when lanterns, swung on poles, guided the pathway of the evening traveler of the metropolis. If the gas-lights have contributed something to the unthrifty practice of turning night into day, they have also done much to advance both the moral and social improvements of the city. The facilities for going abroad in the evening have been greatly increased, and in many streets it is as safe and as agreeable to walk out in the evening as by day-light. Crime, too, has been greatly diminished, and the evil propensities of the vicious kept in check, by the absence of that darkness in which the perpetrators of crime choose to conceal themselves and their wicked deeds.

CHAPTER XII.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS—CHURCHES—CHARITIES.

§ 243. *The City Hall.*

THOUGH New-York is not celebrated for a profusion of architectural embellishments, it nevertheless has a large number of both public and private edifices, not altogether unworthy the attention of the sight-seer, or the admirer of the tectonic art. Among these, the first to be named is the CITY HALL. It is located in the middle of the Park, having a spacious and well-ornamented area around it. Though far below the geographical center of the city, it is really the point from which, as a starting-point, the city must be considered. The building consists of two stories, resting on a high and airy basement—the first of the Ionic order, and the second, Corinthian; and the whole is surmounted by a cupola of the Composite order. Its length is two hundred and sixteen feet; its breadth one hundred and five feet, and its height, without the cupola, sixty-five. The front and ends are of chiseled white marble, but the rear, (as if the city was never to be on that side of it,) was constructed of brown free-stone. In this building are the chambers of the Common Council, the Governor's Room, (a large and well-furnished apartment, used for the reception of the city's guests,) and many of the offices of the city government. A good view of it is given in our Frontispiece.

§ 244. *Hall of Records.*

Directly to the east of the City Hall is the HALL OF RECORDS—the same building that was originally the

Debtors' Prison, and during the war of the Revolution the dreadful "Provost;" and at the time of the cholera, in 1832, it was used as a hospital. The whole building has since been remodeled, and, by the help of stucco and colonnades, transformed into a beautiful Ionic temple, a hundred and four feet long and sixty-two wide, a copy of the temple of Diana at Ephesus. As its name indicates, it is the depository of the archives of the city; it also affords accommodations for several of the departments of the city government.

§ 245. "*The Tombs.*"

THE HALLS OF JUSTICE (called, on account of the style of architecture, *the Tombs*,) are built on the site of the "Collect," occupying the block bounded by Centre and Elm, Leonard and Franklin-streets. This building is the center of the police department of the city. Here the criminal courts are held; and here prisoners detained for trial, or awaiting the execution of their sentences, are confined. The buildings are of light granite, constructed after the Egyptian order, two hundred and fifty feet long, and two hundred deep—part of the structure being two stories high, and part only one.

§ 246. *The Exchange.*

The MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE occupies an irregular block, bounded by Wall, William, Exchange, and Hanover-streets, and is the property of an association of merchants. The present edifice was begun in 1836 and finished in 1842, to supply the place of its predecessor, which was destroyed in the great fire of December, 1835. It is built of Quincy granite, and is

entirely fire-proof. The principal front, on Wall-street, is one hundred and ninety-six feet long; and the whole building two stories high, above a lofty basement. The front is adorned with a colonnade of twelve Ionic pillars, within which is another row of six similar columns, supporting the ceiling of a recess forming the main entrance. The shafts of these columns, though thirty-six feet high, are single blocks of granite, weighing thirty-three tons each. The great central room, called the Rotunda, is one of the most imposing halls produced by modern architecture. It is a vast circular area, surmounted by a magnificent dome, eighty feet in diameter, and eighty feet high, resting in part on eight splendid Corinthian columns of Italian marble. The other portions of the building are occupied by a large reading-room, and the offices of a great number of insurance companies, bankers, and brokers. The cost of this noble edifice, with the ground on which it stands, was nearly two millions of dollars.

§ 247. *The Custom-house.*

The CUSTOM-HOUSE, fronting also on Wall-street, having Nassau-street on the west, and Pine-street on the north,—occupying the site of the old Federal Hall,—was built simultaneously with the Exchange, its predecessor having been destroyed by the same disastrous fire. This edifice is one hundred and ninety-two feet long, and ninety broad, with a colonnade at each end, of eight columns—the whole building being fashioned after the Athenian Parthenon. Like the Exchange, it has a large circular hall, occupying the principal part of the building, which is inclosed by a peristyle of

sixteen Corinthian columns, supporting a magnificent dome. The other parts of the building are devoted to the various purposes of the officers of the customs. The cost of the building, together with its site and appendages, was a little less than twelve hundred thousand dollars.

§ 248. *Odd Fellows' Hall.*

On Grand-street, occupying the entire block between Centre and Orange-streets, is the Odd Fellows' Hall—a brown freestone edifice of about eighty feet front, and over a hundred deep on Orange-street, and five stories high. It was built during the year 1849, at a cost of about \$125,000, and is owned by a joint-stock company, made up chiefly of members of the order of Odd Fellows, to the uses of which order it is principally devoted. Its architectural embellishments are chiefly on the interior. Each of its numerous apartments is fitted up in a distinct style of architecture; so that there is a room in the Antique, the Egyptian, the Persian, the Doric, the Corinthian, the Gothic, and the Elizabethan orders—almost perfect specimens, both as to purity of style and elegance of workmanship.

§ 249. *The Astor Library.*

This edifice, with the valuable free library designed to occupy it, owes its existence to the munificence of the celebrated millionaire, John Jacob Astor, who, by his last will, left four hundred thousand dollars for its establishment. The building is of brown stone, in the Florence Palace style of architecture, sixty-five feet front, by a hundred and twenty deep, and sixty-seven and a half feet from the ground to the top line

of the parapet. It is so built as to be completely fire-proof. The library-hall is sixty by one hundred feet in the clear, and forty feet in height, lighted from the roof, with a gallery fifteen feet from the floor, and shelves against the walls quite up to the ceiling. To the right and left of the vestibule are the reading-rooms, and on each side of the stairway is a corridor leading to the lecture-room in the rear.

§ 250. *The Arsenal.*

A military store-house has been kept in New-York from a very early period of its history. As early as 1675 a powder-house was established on "a small island in the Fresh Water," and in 1728 that island was exclusively devoted to the purposes of a military store. On the same spot, in 1808, then no longer an island, a large building was erected by the State for an arsenal, which continued to be used for that purpose till near the close of the year 1848. About the beginning of that year, it was determined that the arsenal should be removed to a new location on Fifth-avenue, between Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth-streets. Here, during that year, was erected a building two hundred feet long, and fifty feet deep, the first story of stone, and the rest of brick. Each of its corners is flanked by an octagonal tower sixty-nine feet in height; and there are two intermediate towers, each, on the front and the rear walls, eighty-two feet in height. The whole cost of the building was about thirty thousand dollars. It is occupied, as its name denotes, as a depository for arms and military stores, and belongs to the State.

§ 251. *Trinity church.*

Among the churches of New-York, though they are generally much more adapted to use than to show, are found some splendid specimens of ecclesiastical architecture. Among these, Trinity church, on Broadway, opposite Wall-street, is deserving of the first notice. This edifice was erected about ten years since, at a cost of nearly half a million of dollars. The style of architecture is what is technically known as the perpendicular Gothic, and the material is brown freestone. The side-walls are forty feet in height, supported by eight substantial buttresses, between which are pointed windows. In the rear wall is a magnificent window sixty feet high and twenty-five wide. The front is principally occupied by the immense tower, thirty feet square, and supported by buttresses four feet wide, and projecting from each outer angle seven and a half feet, and rising to the height of one hundred and twenty-seven feet. Through the tower is the main entrance to the church, twenty feet wide and thirty high. From the top of the tower rises an octagonal spire of carved stone, one hundred and fifty-six feet high, making the aggregate height, from the level of the street, two hundred and eighty-three feet. The interior of the church is finished in the same style of costly magnificence and rigid attention to architectural exactness. Its capacity as a place of worship, however, bears but a small proportion to the size and cost of the edifice; for it has seats for less than a thousand persons.

§ 252. *Other church edifices.*

A large number of church edifices, deserving a fuller description, must be passed over very briefly, or quite unnoticed. The South Reformed Dutch church, the successor of that which long stood in Garden-street, and was occupied by the oldest ecclesiastical body in the city, is situated at the corner of Fifth-avenue and Twenty-first-street, a magnificent and highly ornamental structure, of the pure Gothic order. The church of the Pilgrims, at the south-west corner of Union-square, is of white marble, in the Romanesque style. It is one hundred and forty-two feet deep, and seventy-five wide, and has two towers in front. The Baptist Tabernacle church, on the Second-avenue, near Tenth-street, is a neat ornamented Gothic building, with pointed towers at the angles, and having the whole front elaborately ornamented. It is ninety-two feet deep, and sixty-four wide, and, altogether, one of the most elegant and commodious churches in the city, capable of seating nearly a thousand persons. St. George's church, on Stuyvesant-square, successor to the venerable structure in Beekman-street, has a front of ninety-four feet, and an entire depth of one hundred and sixty-eight feet. The architecture is of the Byzantine order, and the whole edifice is a model of massive strength. There are towers at the front angles, which are to be surmounted by spires, when its aspect will be truly imposing. Its interior is at once elegant and commodious.

The whole number of church edifices in the city, in 1850, was two hundred and fifty-four, varying, however, very widely in their dimensions, styles of build-

ing, and expensiveness. They belong to some fifteen or sixteen different denominations; of which the Episcopalians have forty-nine; the Methodists forty-six; the Presbyterians forty-four; the Baptists thirty-eight; the Roman Catholics nineteen; and the Reformed Dutch seventeen; and various other denominations from ten to two each.

§ 253. *Charities of New-York.*

Large cities commonly furnish wide fields for the practical exercise of benevolence, and in most Christian and civilized countries they have exhibited the best examples of that genuine charity that labors cheerfully to mitigate human misery. To this general statement New-York forms no exception, and it is remarkable only for the amplitude of the provisions there made for the relief of the multitudes whose necessities are perpetually demanding assistance. Though but a comparatively small portion of the native-born population ever require public interference in their favor, yet, while multitudes of destitute emigrants are constantly crowding our wharves, the hand of charity will not be stayed for lack of objects upon which to exercise its beneficence; and the case of the widow and the orphan will, in all conditions of society, open a wide field for benevolent enterprise. The most ample provision for these necessities are made, both by public munificence and private philanthropy.

§ 254. *Alms-house department.*

Public provisions for the wants of the destitute have been almost coeval with the city itself. Notices of

this department have occurred in the historical portion of this volume. For a long time the alms-house occupied a position in the upper part of the Park. About fifty years since a location was purchased by the corporation on the East River, nearly three miles from the City Hall, formerly the residence of the celebrated Lindley Murray, and an infirmary established there, designed especially to be used in times of pestilence, and for dangerous contagious diseases. Additional buildings were erected from time to time, and the name of Bellevue Hospital was given to the whole establishment. The principal edifice was of stone, three hundred and twenty-five feet in length, and fifty-five in width, and four stories high. To this place the city's poor were removed in the year 1823, and they continued there until removed, a few years since, to their present location.

Blackwell's Island, now the chief seat of the operations of the alms-house department of the city government of New-York, lies in the East River, about four miles from the City Hall, reaching from southwest to north-east more than half a mile. Toward the southern end stands the city penitentiary, a large four-story stone edifice, capable of containing a thousand convicts. Yet below this, at the extreme southern point, is the hospital for sick convicts. About mid-way up the island, are the new alms-house buildings, consisting of two main buildings, with wings, one for males and the other for females, both built of stone. At the northern extremity of the island is the city's lunatic asylum, a large and imposing edifice. The stone of which all these buildings are made was quarried upon the island itself; and this labor, as well

as much of that of building, was performed by the convicts.

Randall's Island, lying nearly three miles farther up the East River, is the situation of the nursery department of the alms-house. Large and commodious buildings have been erected for this department, and a multitude of children are there provided with sustenance and instruction.

The control of the alms-house department was, until within a few years past, in the city corporation. But the increasing magnitude of its affairs at length led to a separate organization, and its management was, about ten years since, committed to an officer chosen by the people, and styled the Alms-house Commissioner. This arrangement, however, was not satisfactory, and a few years later the whole department was re-organized, and placed under the independent control of ten citizens, called Governors of the Alms-house, chosen by the people, two each year; and, that they may be kept above partisan influences, each elector votes for only one, thus equally dividing the whole between the two principal political parties. And further, to secure the services of the best men for this important trust, no salary or remuneration is allowed for their services—the benevolent purposes of the philanthropic being esteemed a better reliance than any mercenary motives; and thus far the experiment has worked very satisfactorily.

§ 255. *New-York Hospital.*

Passing from this notice of the great public charity of the city, we come next to consider the voluntary associations and institutions that are found in the city,

each devoted to some special department of benevolence. Of these, the first in the order of time is the *New-York Hospital*. In the month of June, 1771, certain officers and citizens were constituted, by the Earl of Dunmore, then governor of New-York, a corporation under the name of the "Society of the Hospital of the City of New-York, in America." A building for the accommodation of patients was erected in 1773, jointly by legislative aid and private liberality; but in less than two years after it was destroyed by fire. The work of rebuilding was immediately undertaken; but the coming on of the war of the Revolution soon put a period to this, as to every other similar work. Soon after the termination of the war, the society was revived, and, by the aid of a legislative grant, it was enabled, about the beginning of the year 1791, to open a hospital for the reception of patients. From that period onward the society has continued to enjoy the bounty of the State, and to accomplish the design for which it was originated. The grounds of this institution comprise nearly the whole of the block bounded by Broadway, Anthony, Church, and Duane-streets. A portion of the front of the block on Broadway, at each angle, is occupied by private buildings. An avenue ninety feet wide, shaded with ancient elms, leads from Broadway to the principal building, and opens a most pleasing view to the passers-by. The site is finely elevated, and one of the healthiest situations in the whole city.

The services of the officers of the corporation, as well as those of the attending physicians and surgeons, who are selected from among the most eminent of their several professions, are rendered gratuitously.

Applicants are admitted only on the recommendation of a member of the corporation, or of one of the physicians or surgeons, except in cases of sudden accidents, when they are admitted temporarily by the superintendent, without such recommendation.

§ 256. *Asylum for the Insane.*

The Bloomingdale Asylum for the Insane is a branch of the New-York Hospital. The principal edifice was begun in 1818, and finished two years afterward, and the institution was opened for the admission of patients in June, 1821. It is located on Bloomingdale Road, near Tenth-avenue, and One-hundred-and-seventeenth-street, and about seven miles from the City Hall. There is connected with the institution a ground-plot of about forty acres, a portion of which is highly improved. Besides the beautiful walks and gardens with which the grounds are embellished, the institution has also a collection of exotic and greenhouse plants, that was once the property of Columbia College. This asylum is not only among the oldest of its class in the country, but it has likewise received the benefits of the experience of the most noted institutions of the kind in Europe; it has also contributed much to the skill in, and practical knowledge of, the treatment of the insane, that is now so prevalent in our country.

§ 257. *New-York Dispensary.*

The New-York Dispensary was originated in 1790, by a few benevolent individuals, to provide gratuitous medical treatment for the destitute, and incorporated in 1795. Though often greatly restricted in its oper-

ations by its want of means, the institution has extended relief to multitudes of the sick poor, and the field of its operation is constantly extending. In 1828, nine thousand three hundred and ninety-eight sick or diseased persons were treated; in 1835, no less than twenty-three thousand four hundred and forty-four; and in 1847, twenty-eight thousand two hundred and twenty-seven patients were relieved. The institution has three principal locations—one in Centre-street, at the corner of Franklin; another, called the “Northern Dispensary,” at the corner of Waverley-place and Christopher-street; and still another, called the “Eastern Dispensary,” at the corner of Ludlow-street and Essex Market-place. For its funds it depends chiefly upon private subscriptions, though it receives a small yearly grant from the city government, and also occasional grants from the State legislature.

§ 258. *Deaf and Dumb Institution.*

The Institution for the Deaf and Dumb was incorporated in April, 1817. It is located on Fiftieth-street, near the Fourth-avenue, about three and a half miles from the City Hall. The school was first opened in May, 1818, and was for several years held in the old alms-house building in the City Hall. The foundation of the present edifice was laid in October, 1827, and the school first occupied it in the spring of 1829. The building, as then erected, was one hundred and ten feet long on Fiftieth-street and sixty-feet deep, and three stories high above the basement. In 1834 an additional story was put upon the main building; and in 1838 two wings, each about thirty feet square and four stories high, were erected, giving to the

building an eastern and a western front of ninety feet. In 1846 two additional wings, eighty-five by thirty feet each, with connecting wings, twenty by twenty-three feet, were erected, affording spacious accommodations for the increasing number of pupils.

The management of the institution is vested in a board of twenty-five directors. The president, who unites in himself the two offices of head of the society and principal instructor, has the general direction and control of the whole concern, being aided in the direction by an executive committee, and in the department of instruction and government by a large number of able and efficient teachers. The efforts that have here been made to develop the latent powers of minds, access to which by one of the chief avenues has been closed, has been eminently successful. More than six hundred pupils have participated in its advantages, and have gone forth prepared, both in heart and intellect, to discharge their various social duties—capable of self-support, and emulous of the esteem of the wise and good—and especially animated by the hope of a future state, where physical infirmity shall not be known.

§ 259. *Institution for the Blind.*

The success that was crowning the efforts for the instruction of the deaf and dumb, suggested to some of those engaged in that work the propriety of attempting to do something for the blind. An association for that purpose was accordingly formed, which was incorporated in April, 1831, by the name of "The New-York Institution for the Blind." The next year three children were put under instruction as an



THE NEW-YORK ORPHAN ASYLUM.

W. W. L. B. 50. N. Y. 1850.

experiment, and the result was said to be such as “afforded decisive evidence of the capabilities of the blind for receiving instruction.” Further “experiments” were still more satisfactory, and a lively interest was presently awakened in behalf of that hitherto unhappy and hopeless class of persons. In 1834 the legislature of the State made provision for the support of thirty-two indigent pupils. From that time the institution has maintained a career of unbroken prosperity. The provisions in behalf of indigent pupils have since been so extended as to provide for one from each assembly district—a hundred and twenty-eight in all. The system of instruction includes all the ordinary English branches, and also some of the more advanced studies. Music also, both vocal and instrumental, is much attended to, and many useful arts are taught. The library contains about seven hundred volumes in embossed letters; the institution is also furnished with maps and globes adapted to the wants of the blind. The grounds of the institution comprise an entire square, bounded by Eighth and Ninth-avenues, and Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth-streets. The edifice is a fine Gothic structure of white marble, from the prison quarries at Sing-Sing, three stories high, and a hundred and seventy-five feet in length.

§ 260. *New-York Orphan Asylum.*

Near the close of the last century an association of ladies was formed, headed by the celebrated Isabella Graham, for the relief of poor widows with small children. This unpretending society, which was the pioneer of that class of institutions in this country,

has continued in successful operation for more than half a century. Its members have visited thousands of the abodes of wretchedness, dispensing both temporal relief and spiritual instruction and comfort. But while engaged in their errands of mercy, these benevolent females were forcibly impressed with a conviction of the necessities of a class of poor that lay beyond their immediate sphere of action—those destitute ones whom death had deprived of both their parents. Accordingly several ladies, among whom were the widow of the late General Hamilton and Mrs. Joanna Bethune, associated for the purpose of providing an asylum for destitute orphan children. The society was fully organized in the spring of 1806, and the asylum opened on the first day of May in that year. The institution was at first located in Greenwich village, where it was sustained by private liberality and an annual grant of five hundred dollars from the State. In the year 1836 a new building for the accommodation of the orphans was commenced at Bloomingdale, near Seventy-first-street, whither the institution was removed in 1840. The grounds amount to nearly ten acres, and the building is large and commodious. The number of children composing the family ranges from a hundred to a hundred and fifty, who are provided with everything requisite for their comfort and protection, as well as for their mental and moral culture.

§ 261. *Leake and Watts' Asylum.*

In the year 1827 John G. Leake, Esq., left a large legacy for the establishment of an asylum for orphans in the city of New-York, constituting John Watts, Esq.,

the executor of this portion of his will, and also making him the legatee of a portion of the estate. Mr. Watts generously added his own portion of the estate of Mr. Leake to that given for the orphan-house, and also faithfully executed the provisions of the will, so that the names of those two benevolent persons have become associated in the title of the institution that owes its existence to their united liberality.

The institution is located about seven miles from the City Hall, between the Fourth and Fifth-avenues, and One-hundred-and-eleventh and One-hundred-and-twelfth-streets. It consists of a main building, fronting toward the south, and two wings—the whole front being two hundred and six feet in length. It was first opened for the admission of the children on the first of November, 1843.

The institution owns about twenty-six acres of land in connection with its buildings, and also possesses an income sufficient for the maintenance of more than two hundred children. The beauty of the surrounding scenery, as seen from this point, together with the history of the institution, and the nature of its design, render this establishment an object of peculiar interest.

§ 262. *Colored Orphan Asylum.*

An association for the benefit of colored orphans was organized in the autumn of 1836; its patrons being impelled to this measure by the necessities of a most helpless class of persons, against whom the doors of the ordinary charities of the city were shut. After experiencing much difficulty in procuring the necessary accommodations, a house, with two lots of ground, on Twelfth-street, was purchased for nine thousand

dollars. Here the asylum was opened, and continued to dispense its favors to the needy objects of its benevolence. Contributions were also solicited for a building-fund, distinct from those for the current expenses, which, in 1840, amounted to thirteen thousand dollars. Two years after, the corporation granted to the society twenty lots of ground on the Fifth-avenue, between Forty-third and Forty-fourth-streets. On this location was, soon afterward, erected the present asylum building,—a plain substantial edifice, adapted to utility rather than ostentation. The affairs of the society are conducted by a committee of ladies, assisted by an advisory committee of gentlemen, and under the general supervision of the Governors of the Alms-house. The internal arrangements, as also the general policy of the institution, are most excellent. About one hundred and fifty colored orphan children are here provided for.

§ 263. *Other benevolent institutions.*

Several other charitable institutions, scarcely less worthy of notice than the foregoing, each having its own special field of operation, are found in the city.

The *House of Refuge* for juvenile delinquents was organized and went into operation more than a quarter of a century since. It is designed, as its name signifies, for children and youth of both sexes, who, led astray by the temptations of the town, have been detected in petty offenses; and its purpose is less to punish than to reform and protect the subjects of its salutary discipline. Few of the institutions of the city are engaged in a nobler work than this, and few if any with more certain success.

The *Home for the Friendless*, a spacious and commodious edifice, is designed for the relief of friendless and unprotected females, and little children. It belongs to the American Female Guardian Society, and is located on Thirtieth-street, near the Fourth-avenue.

The Colored Home for the aged,—the *Home* of the Prison Association,—the *House of Protection*, (a Roman Catholic institution,)—the *Home for Aged and Respectable Females*, situated in Twentieth-street, and under the direction of the Episcopal denomination, and a like institution in Greenwich village, under Methodist patronage and direction, may also be enumerated among this class of benevolent establishments.

§ 264. *Charitable institutions for seamen.*

As a great commercial city, New-York is interested in whatever relates to maritime affairs, and especially in the protection of the persons employed in the mercantile marine of the city. There have accordingly risen up, from time to time, in the city, associations for the relief of the destitute and needy of that class of persons.

The *Marine Society*, chartered in 1770, is a mutual-benefit society, designed for the relief of its own members, and for providing for the widows and orphans of deceased members. The whole sum disbursed in the past eighty years is about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

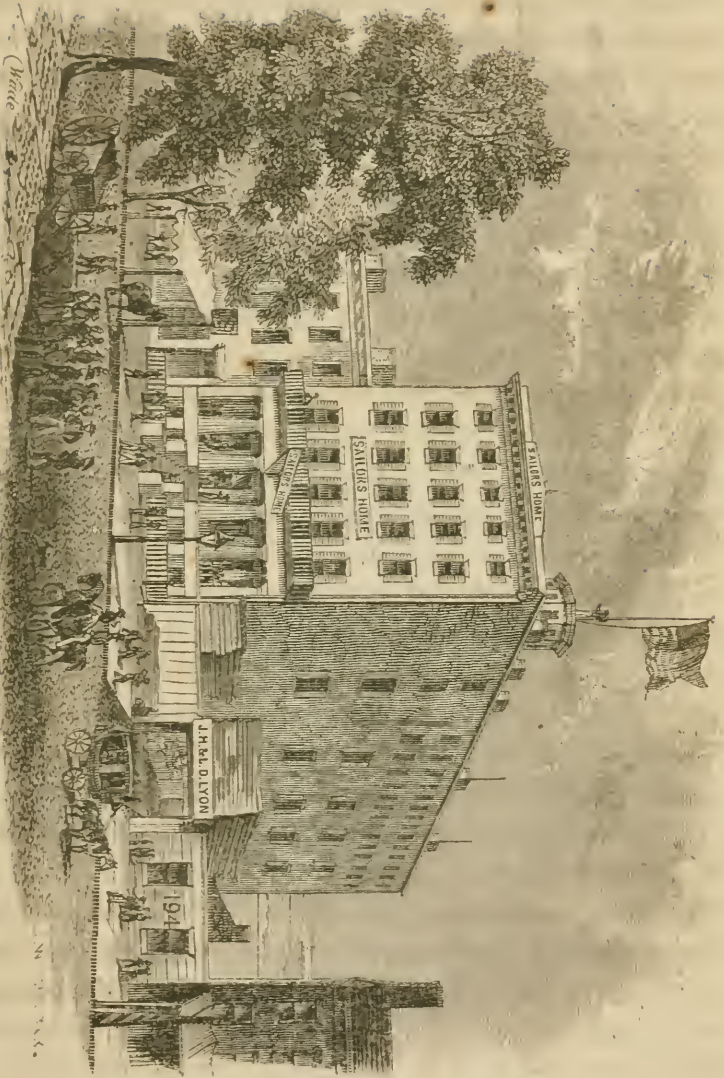
The Seamen's Retreat, situated on Staten Island, was established by the legislature of the State in 1831, for providing a hospital for sick and disabled

seamen. It is supported chiefly by a poll-tax on all mariners coming to the port of New-York; and all persons who have paid such tax are, when in need, entitled to the privileges of the Retreat. More recently the trustees have been directed by the legislature to provide a building to be exclusively devoted to the use of the destitute sick or infirm mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, or widows, of such seamen as have for two years contributed to the funds of the hospital.

The Sailor's Snug Harbor, on the north side of the same island, was founded in 1801, by a bequest made by Captain Robert Richard Randall, for maintaining aged and infirm seamen. The property so devised was at first estimated to be worth about fifty thousand dollars, but it has since greatly increased in value. For many years the hospital was located on a portion of the property on Broadway, near Ninth-street, till the growth of the city in that part made a more retired location desirable, and at the same time gave a greatly advanced value to the property there occupied. Connected with the asylum at its present location is a farm of one hundred and sixty acres of land.

The *Mariners' Family Industrial Society* was established in 1843, to provide work, at a fair compensation, for the females of the families of seamen, and to assist those who are unable to labor. Through the exertions of the managers of this body, assistance has been rendered to many who otherwise would have been compelled to submit to many privations.

The Sailor's Home in Cherry-street, designed as a boarding-house for seamen while on shore, was founded in 1841. It is a substantial brick edifice, six



THE SAILOR'S HOME.



stories high, containing one hundred and thirty sleeping-rooms, an immense dining-room, and a reading-room, with other necessary apartments. About five hundred boarders can here be accommodated, with all the comforts and conveniences of a *home*.

§ 265. *Religious institutions for seamen.*

In the city is a *Port Society*, designed to provide a place of public worship for seamen, by which a house of worship was erected in Roosevelt-street nearly thirty years since, which is supplied with a pastor, and the usual Church services. Several of the principal denominations, also, maintain places of worship specially designed for seamen. In Cherry-street, near Clinton, is the First Mariners' Methodist Episcopal Bethel, a plain and neat edifice, capable of accommodating a thousand persons; and the same denomination also maintains a floating Bethel at the foot of Rector-street, on the Hudson River, where public worship is conducted, not only in the English language, but also in those of several of the nations of northern Europe. At the foot of Pike-street is the floating Episcopal Bethel; and in Cherry-street, near Market, is the Baptist Seamen's Chapel. In this way have the citizens of New-York shown their regard for this hardy but long-neglected class, by providing for them when in port, and for their families when they are absent, the means of religious culture.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDUCATION.

§ 266. *Early destitution.*

IN the early times of the city of New-York, comparatively little attention was given to the subject of learning. The means necessary for obtaining even a plain elementary education were not enjoyed by the great body of the people. Nor was this deficiency limited to the period of the city's infancy; it extended with but little improvement quite down to the time of the Revolution. It thus happened that, while in most of the other American colonies a good degree of zeal in the cause of popular education was manifested by the provincial and municipal authorities, in New-York, for a long time, nothing of the kind was done; so that it was quite out of the power of any but the wealthy to obtain even an indifferent education for their children. But this reproach has since been most effectually removed. New-York may now fearlessly challenge a comparison with her sister cities in her educational facilities; for while she has colleges and high-schools equaling theirs, her system of common-schools has few, if any, equals in the country.

§ 267. *King's (Columbia) College.*

The oldest of our institutions of learning is the venerable foundation originally known as King's College. As early as 1746, vigorous measures were adopted for establishing a college in New-York; but on account of the disagreement between the royal officers and the

provincial assembly, as to the ecclesiastical character of the proposed institution, several years transpired before anything was effected. At length, however, as usual, the royal party prevailed, and the college went into operation under the auspices of the Episcopal denomination, in connection with the Established Church of England. A royal charter, dated Oct. 31, 1754, was received, giving the new institution the usual franchises of an English college, and designating it King's College. Two years later, an edifice was erected for the use of the college, on grounds granted for that purpose by the corporation of Trinity Church, and soon after the institution was opened for the reception of students. In the course of a few years a grammar school and a medical department were added, and before the beginning of the war of the Revolution its course of actual instruction embraced most of the branches usually pursued in European colleges. But the war suddenly ended all its operations; the students were dispersed, and the buildings appropriated to military purposes.

§ 268. *Primary education.*

Before the Revolution no decided efforts had been made to provide the means of primary instruction for the whole juvenile population. No sort of a system of common-school education was then in existence in New-York. The whole business of education was left to regulate itself, or, if regarded at all by the public authorities, it was rather to lay new burdens and restrictions upon it, than to give to it increased facilities and a wider application. Such as sufficiently highly appreciated the value of education, and were able to

pay the expense of it, availed themselves of such facilities as were offered by private teachers, many of whom were quite inadequate to the responsibilities they assumed. Yet these schools, inadequate as they were, served a most valuable purpose, and preserved some little degree of learning among the forming population of the infant city. In consequence of these deficiencies, the standard of intelligence among the people of New-York, on the eve of the war of the Revolution, was far from elevated; yet the seminal principles of intelligence were among them, and these, united to the active spirit of freedom that prevailed, could not fail of a large and prosperous development.

§ 269. *Educational matters after the Revolution.*

After the restoration of peace, the attention of the people began to be directed, with greatly increased interest, to the cause of education. The influence of patriotism—a sentiment that had attained a great influence during the recent political agitations—was now added to that of parental care and solicitude, and education soon came to be considered a public as well as a private concern. Schools were accordingly increased, both by private enterprise and by the combined efforts of liberal and benevolent individuals; and a largely-increased number of children was found attending them. Among the earliest public movements toward satisfying the increasing demands were those made by the Churches and ecclesiastical bodies. By several of these, schools were established and maintained; which, as they were sustained by a large number of individuals, were thus rendered more stable, and also more elevated in their character. For nearly

a quarter of a century these private and ecclesiastical schools were all that the city enjoyed as facilities for promoting primary education.

§ 270. *Free-schools.*

The system of free-schools, now the prevailing form of public education, dates from the beginning of the present century. During the later years of the last century and the first of the present, a number of benevolent ladies, acting as an "Association for the Relief of the Poor," while engaged in their errands of mercy, became cognizant of the deplorable ignorance and consequent degradation of the children of the poor, and resolved to attempt to do something to remove these evils. A school established under the auspices of this association was commenced in the latter part of the year 1802. From this humble beginning the prevailing system of free-schools grew up, and has continued to increase to its present extent and usefulness; and by its operations the public mind is settling down upon the conviction that, among the duties of the commonwealth, that of providing the means of education for all its children is not the least important, and certainly binding.

§ 271. *The Free-School Society.*

The efforts thus made to meet the demands for education, though wholly insufficient for the work undertaken, were at least a recognition of the wants of the poor in this matter, and of the duty of the public. This was soon felt and made operative among others besides the benevolent association that had already begun to act in the business. In 1805 a few philan-

thropic gentlemen met to consult as to the feasibility of some means of answering the demands of the children of the poor for elementary education. Their deliberations resulted in the formation of a "Free-School Society—for the education of children who do not belong to, and are not provided for by any religious society;" and the association thus formed was soon afterward incorporated by the State legislature, having De Witt Clinton for its president, and many of the first citizens for its members and patrons. The funds required for the prosecution of the work thus undertaken were raised by voluntary contributions. The first school established by the new society was opened, in May, 1806, in Bancker (Madison) street, not far from its junction with Pearl-street. Events soon proved that the society had met a real want of the community; and that while on the one hand the hopeful recipients of its bounties were multiplied almost without limit, on the other hand both public and private munificence were cheerfully extended to them. Soon after its commencement, Colonel Henry Rutgers presented to the society a lot of ground in Henry-street, valued at twenty-five hundred dollars, to be occupied by a school-house. The next year the affairs of the society were laid before the legislature of the State, accompanied by a request for pecuniary aid, which was answered by a grant of four thousand dollars for the building of a school-house, and one thousand dollars annually toward paying the current expenses of the school. About the same time the city authorities granted the society the use of a building on the north-west corner of the Park for a school-house, on the condition that fifty of the children of

the alms-house should be taught in the school. To this place the Free-School was therefore removed from its first location in Bancker-street. So well did this new plan operate, that the next year a large and commodious building on Tryon-row, near Chatham-street, formerly occupied as an arsenal, was conveyed to the society, with a grant of money to aid in fitting it for its new designation, on the condition that all the children in the alms-house should be admitted to the school. The same year a school-house was erected upon the lot granted by Col. Rutgers, by means of funds received from the State and from individual donations, and soon after a second school was opened in that place.

§ 272. *Moral and religious instruction in the free-schools.*

The board of the "Free-School" had, from the first, contained individuals of various religious denominations, and, by common consent, all ecclesiastical questions were carefully excluded. They, however, always recognized the duty of caring for the moral and religious instruction of those cast upon their protection. They accordingly from the first had directed that the Holy Scriptures should be read at the daily opening of the schools. At length, at the request of many of the active friends of the society, an association of highly respectable ladies, of different religious denominations, were permitted to meet at the school-rooms once a week, to instruct the pupils from such catechisms as their parents might approve. At the same time Sunday monitors were appointed to conduct the children to appropriate places of worship. Such services rather indicate the necessities of the times when

they were used, than suggest matter of practical utility in the present condition of things.

§ 273. *The Common-School Fund.*

In 1815 the first dividend of the Common-School Fund of the State was made, in the distribution of which the Free-Schools received nearly four thousand dollars, as the first annual installment. In this the board saw an assurance of a certain and steady supply of the funds requisite for the prosecution of their work of benevolence, and accordingly they expressed their high appreciation of the munificence of the State toward their enterprise. It is only just to remark, that this association, having always justified the confidence then reposed in it, has also continued to the present time to participate largely in the bounty of the State government.

§ 274. *Increase of schools.*

The two schools already noticed were the only ones established and maintained by the society before the year 1818, when a third school was opened in a building granted for that purpose on the corner of Amos and Hudson-streets, in Greenwich village, and soon after removed to a new school-house, built upon ground given by Trinity Church, in Christopher (now Grove) street. The next year a fourth school was opened, and a house erected, by means of aid from the State; and in 1820 another, the fifth, located in Mott-street. In 1824, the alms-house having been removed to Bellevue, at the request of the city authorities the board opened a school in that place, designed especially for the benefit of the pauper children. The

society had thus, in the term of eighteen years, from its humble school of forty scholars, increased steadily, till now its six schools contained an aggregate of four thousand three hundred and eighty-four scholars, and had fairly won for itself the position of the proper dispenser of the public funds for the promotion of popular education, especially among the poor and destitute. The range of its system of instruction was steadily enlarging; the rigid economy that pervaded all its affairs enabled it to do much with its limited means; and, by the joint aid of the public funds placed at the disposal of the board, and of private liberality, these schools were maintained without expense to the pupils.

§ 275. *Rival schools and societies.*

It has already been stated that, from an early period, many of the Churches and ecclesiastical bodies in the city had maintained schools in connection with their proper religious organizations. They were at first compelled to that course by the want of any adequate provisions for primary education, under the care of the civil government, as well as by a laudable zeal for the best interests of their own children and youth. It was only proper, therefore, that when public munificence was extended to the several schools of the city, these should share with the others. The plan of distributing to all regularly organized schools in proportion to the number of children actually taught, worked very well for a time; but it was presently found to be liable to abuses. It was at length ascertained that certain ecclesiastical schools, over which the public had no supervision or control, were drawing together large numbers of children, and diverting the pub-

lie funds to themselves. By employing teachers at low rates, and affording an inferior order of instruction, these schools were able, not only to meet their own expenses, but to become a source of emolument, and of Church aggrandizement. These surplus funds were permitted to be employed in erecting additional school-houses, which thus became the property of their respective Church corporations, and were liable to be alienated to purposes quite foreign to the interests of education. This was quite unsatisfactory to the people generally, and at length the whole subject was referred to the legislature for its authoritative interference. By that body a law was soon after passed, confining the application of the Common-School Funds for the city of New-York to the schools under the care of the "Free-School Society," "the Mechanics' Society," "the Orphan Asylum Society," and of the "Trustees of the African Schools."

Thus encouraged, the first-named society continued to enlarge its operations. A new school-house was built in Christie-street, near Walker-street, in which another school, making seven in all, was opened on the first day of May, 1826; and in the following November still another, in Grand-street, near Wooster. About the same time a school, established some time before at Bloomingdale, was taken into the care of the society—making the ninth school now sustained by the labors and funds of the society.

§ 276. *State of learning.*

The insufficiency of the existing provisions for primary education became more and more manifest as the efforts of the "Public-School Society" (the name

given to the Free-School Society in its amended charter) disclosed the true state of things. The necessity for some more comprehensive system began to be confessed by the more intelligent and liberal portion of the people. The plan of making the schools free to all, and of maintaining them at the public expense, began to be considered, and was at length adopted. While this project was under discussion (1829) a thorough enumeration was made of all the children in the city, and all the schools of every class and grade, the result of which is given in the following table:—

Schools.	Kinds.	Teachers and Assistants.	AGES OF PUPILS.			STUDIES PURSUED.				Total.
			Under 5 years.	From 5 to 15.	Over 15 years.	Primary Elements.	Arithmetic, Geography, & Grammar.	Higher English studies.	Ancient Languages.	
430	Private.....	691	1,013	13,631	676	6,907	7,214	1,869	442	15,320
3	Incorporated....	29	33	1,008	40	220	840	270	48	1,081
19	Charity.....	30	197	2,297	50	2,430	960	15	1	2,544
11	Public.....	45	...	6,007	...	6,007	475	...	...	6,007
463	Total.....	795	1,243	22,943	766	15,564	9,489	2,154	491	24,952

In this enumeration was included every grade of schools, from the college to the dames' alphabet classes; so that a truthful exhibit of the educational apparatus for the whole city was thus made. The whole population of the city, at that time, amounted to about two hundred thousand: so that it appeared that only one-eighth of the whole were attending school at all; or, allowing one quarter of the whole to have been between the ages of five and fifteen, not more than one-half of these were in any of the schools of the city. The statement of the branches taught indicated the low degree of attainment among those who attended the schools—of whom three-fifths were confined to the

first elements—spelling, reading, and writing—while most of those further advanced had gone no further than to add to these some little attention to the first principles of arithmetic, English grammar and modern geography. A little more than two thousand were reported to be pursuing the higher English studies—mostly in private schools—and less than five hundred were studying the ancient languages. These statistics present a sad picture of the wants of the cause of education in the city at that period; but they led to the remedy for the evils they proclaimed.

§ 277. *Progress of the cause of education.*

The energy and perseverance exhibited by the Public-School Society secured for itself a large share of public confidence, and at the same time gave rise to increased interest in the cause of popular education. Almost the whole of the Common-School Funds for the city were intrusted to the disposition of that society, and were, by its board of officers, most judiciously employed in forwarding the common cause. New schools were established in various parts of the city, the system of instruction was revised and extended, increased facilities for teaching were provided, and, by increased experience, the teachers were constantly becoming better adapted to their stations and duties. To effect a more thorough classification, primary schools, distinct from the more general ones, were established, designed for those who were pursuing only the first elements. These schools were regarded by the public with much favor; and so rapidly were they multiplied that they soon outnumbered those for the more advanced pupils.

During the latter part of the year 1834 the managers of the Manumission Society transferred their schools for colored children to the Public-School Society, as it was believed that they could be best managed by an association wholly devoted to the advancement of popular education, and the character of that society was esteemed a sufficient guarantee that the trust thus confided to them would be discharged with all requisite fidelity.

The growing operations of the society continued to demand increased facilities and a greater number of properly qualified teachers. To meet these demands, in 1841 a building, designed to be used as a trustees' hall, and for various other purposes of the society, was projected, and built at the corner of Grand and Elm-streets. Here is the society's depository, and here a normal school for training teachers was established. At that time the society had under its care thirty-four public-schools and sixty primaries.

§ 278. *Opposition and advancement.*

The favor with which the operations of the Public-School Society were so generally regarded was not, however, universal. The leading persons of the Roman Catholic denomination were not pleased that an institution over which they could not exercise a controlling influence should have the whole duty of providing for the education of the masses committed to their direction. A portion of the public funds was claimed for the benefit of their own ecclesiastical schools. To grant their request would have been to abandon the course of policy under which the Public-School Society had built up the system of common-

school education, that was shedding so happy an influence on the cause of popular instruction in New-York. It was evident, too, that if the Roman Catholics were permitted to participate in the public funds, all other sects would demand the same in behalf of their schools. The subject, however, was earnestly pressed by the Roman Catholic leaders, and at length it was made a political question. It was plead that the public nature of the cause of education required a more popular constitution of the official boards of instruction than was the case with the Public-School Society. In 1842 an act was passed by the legislature of the State, materially modifying the whole system of public education for the city of New-York. This law was hastily prepared, and, when reduced to practice, its details were found exceedingly imperfect or conflicting. The next year the whole subject was reviewed by the legislature, and the law so amended as to perpetuate the Public-School Society in its former efficiency, but placing it, in common with all the schools that were permitted to receive the public funds, under the general oversight of a popularly elected board of public education. Under this arrangement the affairs of the society have gone on steadily and prosperously to the present time. In 1850 it had under its care one hundred and fifteen schools, containing an aggregate of fifty-three thousand five hundred and forty-six pupils, conducted at an annual expense of \$131,121, and holding real estate estimated to be worth a little more than \$300,000, and encumbered with a permanent debt of \$120,000.

§ 279. *The ward-schools.*

The Public-School Society was the pioneer in the cause of popular education in the city of New-York. At first its efforts were directed only to the indigent and neglected—to such as “were not provided for by any religious society.” In 1808 its sphere was somewhat enlarged, and it was authorized to receive “all children who are the proper objects of a gratuitous education.” When the common-school system of the State came into operation, that society was made the agent through which the public bounty was dispensed, and, in 1826, it was directed to “provide for the education of all the children in the city not otherwise provided for, to the extent of its ability.” Matters continued in that position until the year 1842, when the present system of public instruction was adopted. This system provides for a Board of Commissioners for the whole city, and a Board of School Trustees for each ward, all chosen by the voters of the city, and of the several wards. The commissioners have the general superintendence of all the schools in the city that receive any portion of the common-school funds, while the trustees hold the school property in their several wards, and direct in many of the details of their government. They have the exclusive power to employ teachers, and to direct in the selection of books to be used after the schools have been brought fully into operation. The power of these trustees does not, however, extend to the schools, nor the property of the Public-School Society.

Under the new school law, additional school-houses are established, chiefly under the care of the ward

trustees, and thus a new class of schools, of which there were none before the passage of the law of 1842, have sprung up in the city. The Public-School Society, at the same time, has prosecuted its work with unabated activity, so that there are here two distinct classes of schools, occupying at once the same ground, though both under the same general supervision. It would scarcely be expected that these rival systems should not be the occasion of some jealousies; though recently these have been rather mollified than exasperated, until at length they are found coöperating in the common cause of education, with a good degree of harmony. The ward-schools are conducted on much the same plan with the public-schools; and while the latter have the advantage of greater maturity and the disinterested counsel of the trustees of the society, the former are the special subjects of the public bounty. In 1850 there were sixty-five ward-schools, containing together forty-five thousand eight hundred and seventy-two pupils.

§ 280. *Corporate-schools.*

Beside the two classes of schools already described, there are in the city a number of schools under the care of special corporations, generally of the nature of charity-schools. Of these, the most considerable are the Manhattan Free-School; the Hamilton Free-School; the Mechanics' Society School; and the schools of the "New-York Society for the Promotion of Education among Colored Children." In this class are also reckoned the schools maintained in several of the asylums, and other public institutions having the care of children. The whole number of children

taught in all these corporate-schools, in 1850, was three thousand five hundred and fifty-six, which, added to the sum of those taught in the public and ward schools, make up an aggregate of one hundred and two thousand nine hundred and seventy-four pupils actually taught in the common-schools of the city in one year. This shows a most gratifying progress in the course of popular instruction in the city during the past twenty years; for, while in 1829, only one-eighth of the population attended schools of any kind, now nearly one-fifth are found in the various classes of common-schools, besides the multitudes that are still attending the various private and public schools not under the care of the Board of Education. All the schools that share in the common-school funds are entirely free, as to both tuition and school requisites.

§ 281. *The Free Academy—its origin.*

The progress made in the cause of popular education in New-York, at length suggested to the active friends of that cause the need and the practicability of still further extending the benefits of the system. Especially was it found necessary to make some better provisions for supplying the schools already existing with a sufficient number of properly qualified teachers. Considerable numbers of the most advanced pupils of the common-schools were compelled from time to time reluctantly to leave the schools, and to relinquish the further pursuit of learning, only because they had gone over the whole course of instruction there offered to them. It was becoming evident that the number of this class of pupils was so rapidly increasing, that

very soon enough would be found to fill a properly organized high-school. This state of things resulted in the end in the establishment of the Free Academy. The matter was first agitated during the year 1846, and the next year the subject was laid before the legislature, and an act procured, granting the power to establish the proposed school, provided the scheme should be sanctioned by the votes of the electors. The question was accordingly submitted to the people in the month of June of that year, and sustained by more than five-sixths of those who voted at all on its merits.

§ 282. *Free Academy—location, etc.*

The institution thus founded is located on the south-easterly corner of Lexington-avenue and Twenty-third-street. The edifice is one hundred and twenty-five feet long, and eighty broad; and consists, besides the basement, of three spacious stories, each of which is intersected by two wide passages running at right angles quite across the building. It is designed to accommodate a thousand students, with all the necessary appliances for teaching. The building is of the Gothic style of architecture, but so arranged as to combine economy, with all necessary architectural embellishments. The cost of the structure was limited, by act of the legislature, to \$50,000, and less than that sum was actually expended upon it. The cost of the site was \$25,000, and that of the furniture and fixtures necessary for commencing the academical course, \$10,000. The school was first opened for the reception of pupils about the beginning of the year 1849, with a faculty of ten able professors; and during

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the year more than two hundred students were admitted to its classes.

§ 283. *Free Academy—course of study.*

The system of instruction pursued at the Free Academy is substantially identical with that found in most of the higher schools and colleges in the country, though somewhat more closely adapted to the practical affairs of life. The qualifications for admission are, beside a good moral character, a thorough training in the elements of an English education, as taught in the more advanced departments of the common-schools of the city; and, rather inconsistently with the design of the institution as a *free* academy, none can be admitted to its privileges but such as have been, for at least one year, pupils in those schools. After admission the student may pursue such parts of the course as he, or his parents or guardians for him, may select. The course of study comprises ten different departments, viz.: Mathematics; History, and the Belles-Lettres; Languages and Literature; Drawing; Natural and Experimental Philosophy; Chemistry and Physics; Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene; Civil Engineering; Moral and Intellectual Philosophy; Law, Political Economy, and Statistics. The instruction and discipline of the institution are designed to be thorough and effective. The experiment thus far has answered the best expectation of its friends, and promises to become the crowning glory of our system of free-school education.

§ 284. *Columbia College.*

The establishment of a college in New-York during its provincial history has been already noticed.

After the close of the revolutionary struggle, that institution was revived, and again brought into operation. The original name of King's College was exchanged for one more consistent with the political notions of the people, and since that time the institution has been called Columbia College. A board of trustees was created for it by an act of the legislature, though it continued to be chiefly under the direction of the Episcopal denomination. The number of its students has never been large, seldom much exceeding one hundred; though it has been served by many able teachers, and enjoyed the advantages of liberal endowments. The college buildings occupy the original site of King's College, a short distance westerly from Broadway, at the foot of Park-place. The buildings, which are ample and commodious, are plain stone structures, and less fitted for show than utility.

§ 285. *University of the city of New-York.*

A conviction that the city of New-York required additional facilities for collegiate education, led to the establishment of the University of the city of New-York, nearly twenty years since. It was incorporated in April, 1831, and, about a year and a half later, was opened for the reception of students. The erection of suitable buildings engaged the early attention of the trustees, and the present edifice, situated on University-place, to the east of Washington-square, was completed in 1836. It is a beautiful white marble structure, of the Gothic style of architecture, and well adapted to the purposes for which it was erected. A good degree of public patronage has been afforded to the institution; but its efficiency seems to be greatly

retarded by its pecuniary embarrassments. About a hundred students are usually found in its undergraduate classes.

§ 286. *Rutger's Female Institute.*

For a long time the want of suitable high-schools for the education of young females was severely felt by the people of New-York, but this want was at length in some measure relieved by the establishment of Rutger's Female Institute. This institution is located in the south-eastern part of the city, not far from the mansion of the late Colonel Rutgers. It was incorporated in 1838, and soon after went into operation with very flattering prospects. Commodious buildings for school purposes have since been erected, and the success of the enterprise has fully equaled the most sanguine hopes of its projectors. The course of instruction is well chosen and extensive, affording to young ladies all needed facilities for obtaining a thorough and liberal education. The institution has enjoyed a large share of the favor of the public, and the number of its pupils is always large. But its location, at an extreme angle of the city, renders its privileges unavailable to a large portion of the inhabitants, and suggests the need of similar institutions in other parts of the city.

§ 287. *Medical schools.*

Besides these institutions for general education, New-York contains a number of schools designed exclusively for professional education. The oldest of these is *the College of Physicians and Surgeons*, which is also the oldest medical school in the State, having

been founded in 1807. A medical department had existed in Columbia previously, but, in 1813, that was merged in the independent medical college. The college buildings are situated in Crosby-street, near Broome. The institution has a valuable library and museum, and is annually attended by nearly two hundred students.

The *Medical Department* of the University of the city of New-York, though nominally a branch of that institution, is really under an independent organization. It is located in Fourteenth-street, near Third-avenue, and has attained a high degree of prosperity, having at times more than four hundred students. The college-building contains a large museum, and lecture and dissecting-rooms.

§ 288. *Theological schools.*

The General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church is located in this city, on Twentieth-street, between Ninth and Tenth-avenues. It was founded in 1819, by the concurrent action of the several dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and incorporated in 1822. It has two noble stone edifices, each fifty-two feet deep and one hundred and ten long. The library contains over ten thousand volumes; about seventy students—candidates for the ministry in the Protestant Episcopal Church—are usually in attendance.

The Union Theological Seminary was founded in 1836, and is located on University-place, a little to the north-east of the University. The building is a commodious edifice, with a chapel, library, lecture-rooms, and apartments for students. A valuable

library of seventeen thousand volumes is connected with the institution. The Seminary is under the management of Presbyterians, but it is open to students of any denomination of Christians. The faculty consists of six able instructors; about a hundred students are usually in attendance.

§ 289. *Private schools.*

The progress of the common schools of the city, and the fact that their privileges are wholly without cost to those who enjoy them, have not sufficed to destroy the profession of teaching as a private enterprise. Private schools and academies of the better class have increased in a ratio scarcely less rapid than the common schools, and they now constitute an important portion of the facilities for education enjoyed by the people of New-York. The number of pupils in private schools, in the year 1850, was estimated at nearly twenty thousand, made up almost exclusively from the middle and more opulent classes. Some of these schools have a high reputation, and are sought after with much interest by those whose means allow them to participate in the advantages they offer.

§ 290. *New-York Society Library.*

Besides schools for the education of young persons, there are in the city a variety of institutions designed to operate directly in favor of the diffusion of intelligence among the people. Among these the priority in time belongs to the New-York Society Library, which is the oldest institution of the kind in the country. It was instituted in 1700, during the administration of Lord Bellemont. Subsequently it was

endowed by the gift of the library of Rev. Dr. Milington, of England, consisting of a thousand volumes. In 1754, the old society having fallen into decay, a new organization was formed, and the old library committed to its care. This association was in successful operation when the war of the Revolution arrested its progress, and spoiled its treasures. After the return of peace the society was reëstablished, and in 1794 it occupied a commodious building in Nassau-street, near Liberty-street. In 1840 the society took possession of its new hall on the corner of Broadway and Leonard-street. This building, one hundred feet long and sixty wide, is constructed of finely-cut brown sandstone, and presents on Broadway a chaste façade of Ionic columns.

§ 291. *The Mercantile Library Association.*

A society composed of merchants' clerks was originated in 1820, styled the Mercantile Library Association. For several years it occupied rooms in Fulton, and afterward in Cliff-street, until its increasing affairs demanded enlarged accommodations. To afford these, a number of merchants subscribed the sum of forty thousand dollars, and organized themselves into an association for the erection of a hall. The edifice thus called into existence, situated on the corner of Nassau and Beckman-streets, and known as Clinton Hall, was constructed for the accommodation of the Library Association, and the free use of the necessary apartments was secured to that body on certain very liberal conditions. The society consists of about three thousand members; its library contains nearly thirty thousand volumes, and its annual income amounts to

more than six thousand dollars. Besides the library and reading-room, the society has a valuable cabinet of natural history. The privileges of this institution are afforded to clerks at a merely nominal price, while to all others the rates are much higher.

§ 292. *Mechanics' Associations.*

The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, established in 1790, occupies the building at No. 32 Crosby-street, in which is the male and the female school of the society, the Apprentices' Library, and a spacious lecture-room. The library was begun in 1820, and is designed especially for mechanics' apprentices, who are allowed the gratuitous use of the books. The number of volumes is over fifteen thousand. The entrance to the lecture-room, called "Mechanics' Hall," and to the female school, is from Broadway; while the boys' school and the library are approached from Crosby-street.

The Mechanics' Institute of the City of New-York was founded early in 1833, having for its object the diffusion of useful knowledge, by the founding of a library and museum, and by procuring annual courses of lectures on the physical sciences, and establishing day and evening schools and classes for the instruction of youth of both sexes. Besides a small library, the institution possesses a large collection of minerals, many useful and interesting models of machinery, and suitable apparatus for instruction. Its school is located in Chambers-street, near the City Hall, and has about two hundred pupils, who are instructed in all the English branches of education, and in the classics, and also in painting, drawing and music. Any per-

son of good moral character may become a member of the association by the payment of a small sum for initiation, and thus secure the use of the library, lecture-room, and all the privileges of the body.

§ 293. *Learned and scientific societies.*

In addition to the foregoing, all of which have a special reference to the education of youth, there are in the city a number of valuable scientific associations, each devoted to some particular department of the sciences, arts, or of letters. Foremost among these is the New-York Historical Society, organized in 1804, and devoted, as its name indicates, to the science of history and statistics. It has a well-selected library of about twelve hundred printed volumes, several thousand pamphlets, two thousand maps and charts, and over a thousand bound volumes of newspapers, including a regular series from the first published in the country in 1704 to the present time.

The American Institute of the City of New-York was incorporated in 1829, and is devoted to the interests of domestic industry. It holds an annual fair for the exhibition of the productions of all trades and industrial employments.

To these might be added the Lyceum of Natural History, the Ethnological Society, the National Academy of Design, the Gallery of the Fine Arts, and several other valuable institutions.

§ 294. *Conclusion.*

Such is a hasty sketch of the provisions made for the promotion of education and the prosecution of science in New-York; and it is believed that very

few cities in our country can boast of a more ample and generous system of popular instruction, or better facilities for gaining knowledge. And when the depression from which the cause has been raised during the past half-century is considered in connection with its present elevation, and the breadth of the foundation upon which it rests, no estimate of its future growth that will probably be made would seem to be extravagant. It is presumed that the history of the world can show no parallel to the progress made by the cause of education in this city during the present century.

CHAPTER XIV.

ENVIRONS OF NEW-YORK.

§ 295. *Suburbs of New-York—Brooklyn.*

NEARLY all great cities have large and important suburbs, and New-York forms no exception to this general rule. While the land on the southern portion of Manhattan Island afforded all the space required for the accommodation of the city, these outposts were inconsiderable villages, possessed of a kind of independent individuality; but within the past quarter of a century the overflowings of the city have reached to them, and caused them to disappear as independent bodies, and to become absorbed into the great metropolis. Of these suburban localities the city of Brooklyn is much the most considerable. Lying just over the narrow strait that joins the East River to the bay, and occupying the whole north-western front of Long Island, where it approaches nearest to New-York, this suburb is actually nearer to the principal business portion of the great mart of commerce than most of that city itself. As an incorporated town, "Breukelen" was among the oldest of the Dutch settlements on Nassau Island, and for many years answered among the country people of the island instead of the greater city, as the difficulty and danger of passing over the ferry deterred very many from the perilous enterprise, and led to the establishment of a weekly "fayre" on that side of the ferry, to be held alternately with that in the city. The growth of Brooklyn during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was very slow; so

that at the beginning of the present century it was only a poor and straggling village of a few hundred inhabitants. Nor was the growth of the village for some years later very considerable. As late as 1820 the population of the whole township was still very inconsiderable, most of them being farmers, scattered over the open country. From that time to 1830, the increase was much more rapid—the additions being mostly confined to the village, which now began to assume the character of a portion of the great city. In 1840 the population was found to have grown to 36,233, and everything about Brooklyn plainly indicated that New-York had thrown its arms across the dividing waters. In the year 1834 Brooklyn received from the legislature of the State a city charter; so that in all its political affairs it is wholly distinct from, and independent of, its overgrown neighbor—though in all that relates to the reality and vitality of city-hood, it is verily a part of New-York. From that time the growth of Brooklyn has been rapid, almost beyond a parallel; for in 1850 its population amounted to a very little less than 100,000. Brooklyn possesses many decided advantages as a place of residence. Its elevation above the surrounding waters, and the dryness of the soil, contribute much to its cleanliness and salubrity. Having comparatively little business carried on within its limits, it is free from the crowd and noise that distinguish New-York; and being easily accessible by means of the well-regulated ferries across the East River, it is becoming every year more and more the favorite retreat of the New-York merchants.

§ 296. *Brooklyn, continued.*

Brooklyn, being only an extension of New-York city beyond its political limits, is, in all its material characteristics, a portion of that city; corresponding altogether with those parts of New-York that have sprung up simultaneously with it. The small portion near the ferries, once covered by the Dutch village, has narrow and irregular streets, but in all the other parts the streets are sufficiently wide, straight, and regular. Except its churches, Brooklyn has few public or private edifices requiring any particular notice. The court-house and jail of Kings County is a building of no great magnitude or architectural pretensions, situated more than a mile beyond the principal ferry, and directly to the west of the great natural mound upon which Fort Green was located. The City Hall, located at the head of Fulton-street, (the chief avenue leading down to the great ferry that communicates with the street of the same name in New-York,) about three-fourths of a mile from the ferry, is one of the most elegant structures in the country. It is built of white marble, in the Ionic order of architecture, with a portico and colonnade upon the northern or principal front, and finished with the most rigid exactness in all its parts. The building consists of three stories,—a basement, a principal, and an upper story,—and the whole of it is devoted to the public offices of the city of Brooklyn and Kings County.

§ 297. *Brooklyn, continued—the Navy-yard.*

In the eastern part of Brooklyn, on Wallabout Bay, is the United States' Navy-yard. In 1801 the gen-

eral government purchased about forty acres of land and marsh on Wallabout Bay, on which to erect the necessary works of an extensive naval establishment. A large portion of the public ground is inclosed by a high brick wall, and within the yard is a great variety of naval stores and armaments, besides a considerable amount of shipping. Here was built the floating steam-battery *Fulton*, which was used as a receiving-ship and naval-school for nearly twenty years, being moored some two hundred yards from the shore; and there, on the 4th of June, 1829, her magazine exploded, and she was reduced to a hopeless wreck. Her place as receiving-ship has since been supplied by the ship *North Carolina*. The *Ohio*, seventy-four, was also built at this yard, and several other smaller vessels of our navy, and more recently the *San Jacinto*, steam-frigate. The dry-dock connected with this Navy-yard is its most remarkable feature. This is an immense basin, below the water level, of sufficient capacity to admit the very largest class of vessels, built of immense blocks of granite, and communicating with the bay by a vast gateway. When these gates are thrown open, the largest vessel may be easily floated into it; and after the gates are again closed, pumps, driven by a steam-engine of the most terrific power, soon exhaust the confined water, leaving the vessel resting quietly upon a cradle prepared to receive it.

§ 298. *The Naval Lyceum—Hospital.*

A Naval Lyceum, connected with this establishment, was founded in 1833. It includes among its members most of the officers of the American navy,

and many distinguished civilians. It has a valuable library and museum, the latter of which contains many rare specimens of natural history, as well as of military and historical relics, and other curiosities.

On the easterly side of Wallabout Bay, upon a gentle elevation, is the United States' Naval Hospital, a spacious and truly magnificent edifice of white marble. Here the aged or infirm seaman, who has devoted the days of his strength to the service of his country in the navy, finds a home, where he is provided with every attention and comfort that his circumstances may require, and his services deserve.

§299. *Brooklyn, continued—churches.*

Brooklyn has been honored with the title of the "City of Churches," a name to which it was formerly better entitled than it is at present. Still it holds an enviable elevation in this particular. Most of the more considerable church edifices are situated on or near the Heights—that portion of the city lying to the west of Fulton-street. Some of these are elegant and costly structures, though generally they are more adapted to use than appearance. The First Presbyterian church, in Henry-street, is a plain and substantial edifice, with a brown-stone front, and a heavy square tower. The Church of the Puritans, (Congregational,) at the corner of Henry and Remsen-streets, is a large and well-constructed granite edifice, in the Byzantine order of architecture. The First Baptist church, in Nassau-street, is a commodious house of worship, of the Norman style. The Methodist churches in Sands-street and in Washington-street are plain, but well-constructed edifices, of the

Doric order; and that in Clinton-street, corner of Pacific, a more finished specimen of the Romanesque order, with towers at both front angles. The Church of the Messiah, in Pierrepont-street, (Unitarian,) is a fine specimen of the light Gothic; the Baptist church, in the same street, of the modern Gothic; and the Reformed Dutch church, a beautiful model of the Composite; and the Church of the Holy Trinity, in Clinton-street, near by, probably the most costly edifice in the city, built of dark-colored freestone, in the pure Gothic style. Christ church, in South Brooklyn, Grace church, on the Heights, and St. Anns, in Washington-street, are the other principal churches of the Protestant Episcopal denomination. The Plymouth church, (Congregational,) in Cranberry-street, is a plain but exceedingly commodious place of worship, capable of seating more than two thousand persons. The Second Presbyterian church, on Clinton-street, near Fulton, is a noble Doric structure; and the Reformed Dutch church, near the City Hall, (belonging to the oldest ecclesiastical body in Brooklyn,) is an almost perfect model of the pure Ionic, with colonnades at both its fronts. Besides these, there are many houses of worship, of various degrees of elegance and architectural embellishment, found in all parts of the city, and new ones are continually springing up to meet the demands of the rapidly-increasing population.

§ 300. *Williamsburgh.*

Directly to the eastward of New-York City, just across that part of the East River which extends northwardly from Wallabout Bay, and immediately

to the north-east of Brooklyn, is the city of Williamsburgh. The site of that town was a portion of Bushwick till the year 1840, when it was cut off and incorporated as a distinct township. The growth of New-York, by which the city was brought to press hard down upon the East River, opposite to the shore of Bushwick, had so much increased the importance of this locality, as to demand for it a separate and independent political organization. As early as 1817 a ferry was established from that shore to New-York, but it was not till ten years later that a village began to show itself in this part. Within the past twenty years, however, its growth has been very great. In 1835 a new village charter was granted, enlarging somewhat its territory, and adapting the powers of the government to the increased magnitude of the place. By this charter the affairs of this rapidly-growing village were conducted for sixteen years, till, in 1851, it passed out of its minority, and assumed the title of a city.

Among the principal causes of the rapid growth of this suburb has been the superior system of ferriage established between it and New-York. From Grand-street, Houston-street, and Peck-slip, in New-York, large, safe, and commodious steam ferry-boats run at very short intervals; so that a residence in this suburb is but little, if at all, less convenient of access to the business of New-York than it would be were the city of Williamsburgh a portion of Manhattan Island. In 1850 its population was a little more than thirty-six thousand.

The plan of Williamsburgh is laid out on a scale corresponding to the manifest destiny of the place to

become a great city. The whole ground-plot is brought into a common system of streets and avenues. Beginning at the water-side, streets running parallel with the shore, and with each other, extend from south-west to north-east across the entire township. Across these, running back into the country, is the great leading avenue, called Grand-street. On either side of this are other streets parallel with it, cutting the streets that run along the river nearly at right angles. But the plan of the city is not forced into a perfect system of rectangular blocks, but conformed, in some degree, to the ground-plot, and adapted to the natural currents of travel, thus securing at once an agreeable variety, and much greater convenience than could be obtained by a more rigid exactness.

Williamsburgh is almost exclusively a city of residences. Along the water-side are several large ship-yards, and there are also in different parts a number of very considerable manufacturing establishments. But much the greater portion of its population are engaged in business connected with the city of New-York. There are no public buildings of any importance in the city except its churches, and none of these are such as to require any special notice. The houses of the residents are generally well built and commodious, and some of them elegant, though, for the most part, the population consists of the sterling middle classes. The rapid progress that this outpost of New-York is making will doubtless demand for it much attention in the future annals of the great metropolis.

§ 301. *Villages on Manhattan Island.*

On the upper part of the island, in the Twelfthward of the city of New-York, are several villages that properly belong to the environs of the city. Of these, Harlem, situated at the head of the Third-avenue, about eight miles from the City Hall, and near the junction of the Harlem with the East River, is the oldest and most considerable. Its foundation dates back to the earliest days of the settlement of this island, when a number of Dutch families established themselves in this place, and gave to it the name of one of the cities of their own loved Netherlands. Though a very old settlement, Harlem has advanced but slowly, and is still only an inconsiderable settlement, and with but very few of the appliances necessary to give it a vigorous vitality.

Two miles below Harlem, on the same avenue, is Yorkville, a straggling village of no great importance. On the west side of the island, nearly due west from Harlem, is Manhattanville, another suburban village, which is also increased and strengthened by its manufactories. A mile and a half farther down, on the west side of the island, was formerly the ancient village of Bloomingdale, now broken up by the approach of the city proper; and a mile lower was Chelsea, now completely lost in the capacious mass of the great metropolis. None of these rural localities of New-York possess any great interest as independent villages.

§ 302. *West shore of the Hudson.*

Beyond the Hudson River the growth of New-York is beginning to be decidedly felt. Jersey City, occupying the ground-plot of Paulus Hook, and extending to the ancient colonies of Pavonia and Communipaw, has sprung up within a few years, and is now an incorporated city, and is increasing at the usual rate of New-York progress. To the north of this, along the hills of Bergen, is Hoboken, long celebrated as a suburban pleasure-ground, but now becoming a thickly settled embryo city. Beyond this is Weehawken, chiefly celebrated as the scene of the slaughter of Alexander Hamilton, by which sad event a glorious career was terminated ingloriously, and a most valuable son of New-York sacrificed to the bloody code of honor, by the hands of one who was never worthy of his attention. Still farther upward are Fort Lee, — now becoming a considerable settlement, — and the beginning of the Palisades, whose adamantine walls and towers alone resist the rushing changes that come on with the floods of growing years. Toward the south, Elizabethtown is growing into importance, by reason of its proximity to New-York; and Newark, by the same influence, is quickening its pace toward greatness; and even New-Brunswick feels the influence of the growing tide of prosperity that has its fountain in the Empire City. Staten Island is, to a great degree, an outpost of New-York; but as it is chiefly occupied by the quarantine establishments, and several marine asylums and hospitals, its growth in wealth and population has not kept pace with other places equally contiguous to the city.

§ 303. *Fortifications about New-York.*

In enumerating the objects of interest about the city of New-York, its fortifications and means of defense should not be omitted. All the approaches to the city from without are strongly defended. At the Narrows is Fort Hamilton, on Long Island, covering Fort Lafayette, which is built on a reef two hundred yards from the shore. Both of these are large and invulnerable fortresses, fully armed for effective service. Upon Staten Island are Forts Tompkins and Richmond, the former situated on the high grounds of the island, and the latter at the water-side below it. In the interior harbor, Governor's, Ellis's, and Bedlow's Islands, are all strongly fortified. Of the first-named, the north-west angle is occupied by Castle Williams, a large circular battery, which is connected by a subterranean passage with Fort Columbus, in the center of the island. Another battery also guards Butter-milk Channel, which separates this from Long Island. The Navy-yard presents a strong point of defense on that side of the city, as well as serving as the depository of a moveable defense for every other part. At the eastern extremity of the East River, twelve miles beyond the southern point of the city, is Fort Schuyler, on Throggs Neck, guarding the entrance to the harbor in that direction. With these defenses, it is believed that New-York is as effectually protected against the approach of an invading force as is compatible with the present state of the arts of attack and defense.

§ 304. *Cemeteries.*

Any survey of the environs of New-York that should not notice its cemeteries would be essentially defective. These, however, are all of recent date, the oldest being but little more than ten years old; they may therefore be considered as yet in their infancy. Previous to their existence the disposal of the remains of the departed was a matter of much embarrassment, and the cause of painful solicitude. Many of the churches had burial-places connected with them, and often spacious vaults were excavated under them for the reception of the dead. Attached to Trinity church was a spacious burying-ground, in which several generations of the principal inhabitants were interred; another of like character was attached to St. Paul's chapel. These two cemeteries, though located where the price of ground is enormously high, have been preserved inviolate against all the onsets and allurements of the divinity of trade. Not so, however, with the other burial-places that during all the stages of the city's growth, till within the last forty years, fringed the outskirts of the city. These have successively yielded to the advancing tide of the city's growth, and have either been dug down and their bones sunken in deep pits, or, where the grade favored, the surface was overlaid with earth, and the dwellings of the living erected over the resting-place of the dead. These things were long endured as of necessity, till the establishment of rural cemeteries, at a distance from the city, gave the wished-for relief.

§ 305. *Greenwood—its location and extent.*

Among these rural cemeteries Greenwood is much the most considerable. It is located at the extreme southern part of the corporate limits of Brooklyn, on Gowanus Heights, nearly three miles from the Fulton Ferry. These grounds lie on the route traversed by the British army when approaching New-York on the 26th of August, 1776; and within the limits of this spot, now consecrated to the repose of the dead, occurred the principal conflict of that disastrous day. A high historical interest is thus united to the other attraction of this scene.

The whole area of this cemetery amounts to over three hundred acres, which is a much larger extent than is found in any similar establishment in either America or Europe. The various avenues already completed (exclusive of foot-paths) have an aggregate length of about fifteen miles. These wind in every direction through valleys and along hill-sides, skirting the sylvan lakes, and leading through miniature groves of ancient forest-trees. The grounds are beautifully and almost endlessly diversified by nature, presenting an infinite variety of scenery, and distributing the whole area into hillocks and vales, dells, lawns, lakes, and glens. The more elevated parts afford many exceedingly interesting views. On the west, in full view, is New-York Bay, the most perfect land-and-water scene in the world; toward the north rise the towers and domes of New-York and Brooklyn; north-eastwardly the Sound, dotted with islands, is seen far in the distance; while, to the east and south, lie the green fields and quiet villages of Long Island; and beyond these the distant ocean.

§ 306. *Greenwood—its history and progress.*

Greenwood Cemetery received its corporate existence by an act of the legislature of the State of New-York, dated April 18, 1838. Four years were occupied in the preliminary arrangements of the association; so that the grounds were not opened for interments till 1842. Before fixing upon a site for their operations, the association made a careful and thorough survey of the entire vicinity of New-York, and fixed upon this as combining more real advantages than any other. The original purchase consisted of one hundred and seventy-five acres, which has been increased by subsequent purchases to its present extent. The entire area has been laid out into lots, and is traversed by streets and avenues, and, by a careful husbanding of the surplus waters, artificial lakes and reservoirs have been formed. Keepers' lodges and towers have been built; two large receiving vaults, for the temporary deposit of the dead, have been constructed, and a very great number of private tombs and vaults. The company has expended in regulating and ornamenting these grounds nearly half a million of dollars; while the sums expended by individuals must be numbered by hundreds of thousands, or by millions. About three thousand eight hundred lots were sold previous to the 1st of May, 1850, at which time the aggregate of interments amounted to nine thousand seven hundred. Most of the lots have been inclosed by substantial iron fences, and upon the grave-stones and the fronts of tombs are many excellent specimens of sculpture and beautiful architectural embellishments.

§ 307. *Trinity Church Cemetery.*

On the high grounds of Manhattan Island, near the village of Manhattanville, and upon the east bank of the Hudson, is the new cemetery of Trinity church. It reaches from One-hundred-and-fifty-third-street to One-hundred-and-fifty-fifth-street, and from the Tenth-avenue to the river. From this point may be had a commanding view of the Hudson River, the Highlands, the Jersey shore, the cities of New-York, Brooklyn, and Williamsburgh, the East River and Sound, and of Long Island. The grounds are covered with a fine growth of forest-trees, and beautifully laid out in walks and avenues, and ornamented with shrubbery and statuary. The whole is inclosed by a secure and durable fence.

§ 308. *Other rural cemeteries.*

Besides those already described, other cemeteries, based on the same general principles, have been established in various places in the vicinity of New-York. *Rockland Cemetery*, containing eighty acres, is located at Piermont, on the New-York and Erie Railroad, about twenty miles from the city. New-York Bay Cemetery lies on the west side of the harbor, to the south of Jersey city, and is principally used by the various beneficiary societies of New-York and its vicinity, many of which have here places of interment. About three miles eastward from Brooklyn is the cemetery of the Cypress Hills; and to the north of this, that of the Evergreens. These grounds have been but recently devoted to their new purposes. They embrace, jointly, about three hundred acres of

irregularly undulating hills and valleys, mostly covered with a thick growth of evergreens, chiefly cedars. From some of the highest points of these grounds may also be obtained extensive views of the surrounding regions. Comparatively little has yet been done toward the regulation of these cemeteries, nor is it intended that they shall ever rival Greenwood in splendor and magnificence—being designed for a less opulent portion of society than are those who bury their dead at the latter place. Thus the city of the living is hemmed in on all sides by the dwelling-places of the dead, where the ephemeral beings that for a little while swell the mass of the living city will soon lie down in these, their permanent and quiet resting-places.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PEOPLE OF NEW-YORK.

§ 309. *Individuality of character.*

SOME modern nations pride themselves upon their ability to trace their descent from some ancient tribes or people, whose name and deeds are found among the records of former times. Even some of the older States and cities in this republic are not altogether destitute of this ancestral vanity. New-England boasts of her Puritan fathers; Virginia, of her gallant Cavaliers; Maryland, of her liberal-minded Roman-Catholic founders; and Pennsylvania, of her peaceful but liberty-loving Quaker ancestry. New-York might fearlessly enter the lists with these, and urge the claims of her Belgic ancestors to equal honors with any of them; but another method of vindication is deemed at once more truthful, and better adapted to the intended purpose. The character of the people of New-York is not an imported or inherited one; it is a home-production, developed from the assimilated elements out of which the present population has been derived. The distinct identity and the real excellence of this native character constitute the true glory of the people of our city.

§ 310. *Original elements.*

The original settlers of New-Netherland, it is well known, were chiefly natives of Holland; and of course the settlement was originally a Dutch colony, having the manners and customs, the language and religion,

and generally all the social institutions of the fatherland. But from the beginning the Belgic basis of the people of New-Amsterdam was diluted and mixed with many foreign ingredients. From the earliest times the colony was an asylum from religious persecution; so that large numbers of refugees of almost every name and creed, both from Europe and the neighboring colonies, were attracted to that place. There were Jews and Anabaptists, Quakers and Sabatarians, and, according to the statement of Governor Dongan, "some of almost every belief, and most of none at all," all dwelling together in perfect equality, and consequently in peace and good neighborhood. The zeal of the patroons to induce immigrants to settle within their several grants led them to offer liberal terms to settlers, and to disregard national distinctions and theological differences. It thus happened that these infantile settlements were often composed of the most diverse materials; the only point of coincidence being that all should be householders, and loyal denizens of the colony. As, in the golden age of the commonwealth of Rome, to be a Roman citizen was a sufficient title to all the immunities of the republic, so in these primitive times every householder in New-Netherland enjoyed all the privileges of citizenship. This primary social element has given its impress to the whole body; so that our entire social system is only a community of families.

§ 311. *The Walloons.*

At several times during the early period of the colonial existence of New-Netherland, there were very considerable accessions of aggregate bodies of immi-

grants from portions of Europe other than Holland. Among the earliest of these were a body of Walloons, a fragment of an ancient race residing on the frontiers between France and Flanders, speaking the old Gallic language, and professing the Reformed religion. During the famous "Thirty Years' War," they were distinguished for valor and indomitable prowess; but the events of war, in which destiny rather than skill and might seems to prevail, were against them. Determining, therefore, to preserve their liberties, though at the expense of their country, they turned their eyes toward America. They sought to be admitted, with their social and civil institutions, to the colony of Virginia; but their request was promptly denied. Turned aside from that purpose, they came, about the year 1624, to seek an asylum among their kindred at New-Netherland, and were permitted to locate themselves in a body at the Wallabout, (*Wahle bocht*), or "Bay of the Strangers," so called from themselves, on Long Island, and within the present corporate limits of the city of Brooklyn. Another portion of them passed up the Hudson, and established themselves at the colony of Esopus. Thus a new, though not altogether a foreign element was introduced into the colonial population.

§ 312. *Refugees from New-England.*

About the year 1642 a colony of the English race came from New-England, and planted themselves beside and among their Belgic predecessors on the northern shore of Long Island Sound, and within the acknowledged limits of the Dutch possessions. These were a band of religionists who had followed the Pil-

grim train to America, but were now compelled, on account of the intolerance of the ruling powers of New-England, and their own pertinacious nonconformity, to remove beyond the rigorous dominion of the Puritans, and seek a refuge under a less exacting government. They accordingly requested the privilege to settle within the limits of New-Netherland, and were permitted to do so, having lands assigned them for their habitation, and the privileges of a free manor, and the unmolested exercise of their religion guarantied to them. Soon after, the little colony was strengthened by the arrival of Throggorton and his associates, who had been expelled from Massachusetts with Roger Williams, and who now came with thirty-five families, and were located at the place ever since called, from the name of the leader of this exiled band, Throgg's Neck.

In the same year the Lady Moody, with her minor son, Sir Henry, and many followers, fleeing from New-England for the same cause, came to New-Netherland and planted the town of Gravezande (Gravesend) on Long Island. They were soon followed by a large number of New-England families, to whom lands were granted upon their enrolling themselves liegemen of the province. So completely did these Anglo-Saxon immigrants become assimilated to the common character, that many of them are now recognized as the principal Dutch families found in that neighborhood. But this assimilation was not effected at once, nor was the Anglo-Saxon element thus introduced ever entirely lost. The influx of English settlers led, at this early period, to a public recognition of the English language, and to other appropriate modifications of

the public administration. In pursuance of this liberal policy, and with the avowed design "to prevent the disturbance of harmony and social intercourse by the incoming of so many strangers to reside here," the director-general appointed one of these immigrants English Secretary to the Council of New-Netherland.

§ 313. *Swedes and Finns from the Delaware.*

The conquest of the Swedish colony on the Delaware, in 1665, by Governor Stuyvesant, led to the transfer of a large portion of the inhabitants of that colony to the banks of the Hudson. As after the conquest some of the Swedes refused to swear allegiance to their conquerors, the valorous Stuyvesant "picked out the flower of the Swedish troops, and sent them, with some of the principal inhabitants, to Manhattan." A part of these were permitted to remain in the city, and the rest sent to the Walloons' colony at Esopus. These Scandinavians brought with them the Lutheran faith and worship, which had been hitherto unknown in the colony; and although their language was soon lost, and even their family names accommodated to the more favored dialects, these Swedish families can still be traced among us, and they plainly demonstrate that the contribution thus made to the population of the colony was far from being an unimportant one.

§ 314. *Effects of the English conquest.*

The conquest of the entire colony of New-Netherland by the English, in 1668, necessarily made great changes in the condition, and ultimately in the character, of the people. It is supposed that at that time

nearly one-half of the whole population was of British extraction ; and though Dutch manners generally prevailed, yet were these greatly modified by so large an admixture of strangers. With the new government, English manners as well as English laws came into favor. The language of the dominant nation, already spoken by one-half of the people, was made the medium of communication in all public affairs, and was therefore cultivated by all who aspired to either its advantages or its respectability. A very considerable influx of English people followed immediately after the setting up of the new order of things, some of them as actual settlers, and others as public functionaries, or as their retainers and servants. Many of these likewise remained permanently in the province, and were by degrees incorporated among the mass of the population.

§ 315. *The Huguenots.*

Toward the close of the seventeenth century a large number of French Protestants, driven from their own country by the murderous persecution that followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes, sought a refuge in the province of New-York. These wretched victims of treachery and intolerance were cordially welcomed to this asylum of the persecuted, where they settled and became established as denizens. Thus a new and very considerable element was brought into the social body. It should not be forgotten that, though these refugees from persecution were Frenchmen, they were a very different class of people from those whom we now recognize as just specimens of that frivolous and volatile nation. They were eminently a sober and

religious people ; and more than this, they were martyrs for religious liberty ; and of course they brought with them their characteristic earnestness in matters of faith and duty. As to secular affairs, they were skillful artisans, industrious and temperate in their habits of life, and devotedly attached to their homes and families. Such persons could not be otherwise than highly valuable accessions to any social and civil community, and especially to such as was New-York at that period. Some of these settled in New-York, and others in different places in the province, where they soon became quite amalgamated with the common mass, and by their own habits and examples contributed much to the improvement of the social character of the people.

§ 316. *German and Irish refugees.*

A few years later, (in 1710,) some three thousand Germans, who had been driven by the storm of war out of the Palatinate and had taken refuge in England, were sent out by the British government to New-York. These were both political and religious exiles, and of course they brought with them the peculiarities of opinion that had caused their sufferings ; and as men usually cherish their sentiments most when they are maintained at greatest expense, these exiles were zealous advocates of political and religious liberty. These people were settled along the Hudson and in the fertile valley of the Mohawk ; and afterward many of them came to dwell in the city, and thus cast another element into the motley mass.

About this time the effects of the English revolution, and especially the defeat of the Pretender in

Ireland, caused a large emigration of the partisans of the vanquished Stuarts to America. These were from all of the three kingdoms, English, Scotch, and Irish, and generally of a somewhat elevated social grade. These, despairing of the cause of their legitimate prince, came now to spend their days in quiet in this universal city of refuge, where their dislike of the ruling dynasty of Great Britain transformed them into violent friends of individual freedom.

§ 317. *State of the population in 1700.*

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the population of New-York city amounted to about five thousand, made up, as has been shown, of the most heterogeneous materials. Of these, the original Dutch was still the largest body, although much inferior to the aggregate of all the others. The American Dutchman, too, had become, through a variety of causes, a very different kind of person from his European prototype. The next largest class was the motley group of natives of the British Islands, and their descendants born in the province; a class united only by a community of language, and of relations to the government. Next to these in numbers, and resembling them in many particulars, although distinguished by clearly-marked traits of character, were the immigrants from the neighboring colonies. Among these were Puritans and separatists from theocratic New-England, those laying aside their exacting intolerance, and these their obtrusive nonconformity; reduced Cavaliers and emancipated apprentices from Virginia, forgetting here the artificial barriers that had formerly separated them; with Quakers from Pennsylvania and

New-Jersey, and refugee servants from the West Indies. All these, with the Walloons, Huguenots, and Palatinates, made up the grotesque mass of our ancestral population one hundred and fifty years ago. Thus huddled together, they were rather the elements out of which society was to be made, than a properly-consolidated social body.

§ 318. *The colored population.*

But of the five thousand persons found in the city of New-York at that time, not less than a full sixth part were of a race not yet spoken of. More than eight hundred of them were negroes, originally introduced as slaves, and most of them still held in that degraded condition. The great disparity of physical character between them and the whites, as well as their social and personal degradation as a class, fixed an impassable gulf between them and the other classes of the community. They accordingly constituted a distinct *caste* in society, and have consequently remained a foreign mass in the social body, quite incapable of assimilating with it. Within the last half-century the relative proportion of this class of the population has declined more than one half; and although they have long since ceased to be slaves, and many of them have received the rudiments of a plain education, they are still a wholly-distinct and an out-cast class in the community.

§ 319. *Social condition.*

Among such an aggregation of the crude elements of a population, the local manners and national prejudices of each class would necessarily be kept some-

what under restraint. No one class had so great a preponderance as to be able to assimilate all the rest to its own character; nor were the various elements of character found among the several classes such as could be harmonized into a consistent unity. The necessity of some common medium of communication, aided by the unrestrained intercourse of all classes and nationalities, led, by slow degrees, to the exclusive use of the language of the rulers and the ruling race. These circumstances have given to New-York a purer English dialect than can be found in most places where the English language is spoken; while the few provincialisms that are mingled with it, by their peculiarities, clearly indicate the independent origin of the prevailing forms of speech. In like manner the prevailing customs and usages of the people were such as sprung up among themselves.

The colonists of New-Netherland, and the immigrants to provincial New-York, came to the banks of the Hudson, not to propagate a theory of government, nor to realize a scheme of ecclesiastical optimism. Most of them came as individuals and heads of families, seeking for a quiet retreat from political oppression and religious persecution; and of course they were much more intent on enjoying the sweets of domestic tranquillity than on establishing a hierarchy, or founding a commonwealth. We accordingly find the early inhabitants of the province dwelling together as groups of families rather than as a closely-compacted community. Driven by oppression from the lands of their nativities, they had learned to love the home of their exile more than the places that gave them birth, and to cherish a fraternal interest in their

companions in sorrow and consolation, and so unconsciously to assume their habits and manners. Still, there were differences enough to forbid a very close intimacy, so that each one was compelled to seek his chief enjoyments in his own household. Here lay the strength, and from this source originated that symmetry of character that is the honest boast of the genuine New-Yorker. At the same time a community of wants and interests united these individuals in common feelings and efforts, and thus elicited an enlarged public spirit, and at length an exalted patriotism.

§ 320. *Religious liberty.*

The practice of freely tolerating all Protestant sects of Christians was coëval with the history of the city and province of New-York. The planting of the colony was not originally a religious, but a commercial enterprise. The first settlers brought with them the prevailing religious notions of the Low Countries, not wholly excluding the intolerance that disgraces the ecclesiastical annals of Holland. But the merchants of Amsterdam were more careful as to their profits than for the maintenance of a forced orthodoxy; and, as in their own city free toleration prevailed, so they determined it should be in New-Amsterdam, in America. Accordingly, here the persecuted non-conformists of almost every country of Europe sought and found an asylum, and "freedom to worship God." Here the Calvinist and the Lutheran sat down together and enjoyed equal privileges. Here the arrogant Episcopalian and the stubborn Presbyterian were compelled to refrain from annoying each other. Here Anabaptists and Quakers, left to enjoy their own

fancies, ceased to be fanatical, and became rationally devout, and truly valuable members of society. Here, too, even the forlorn Israelite, despised and persecuted in all nations, was permitted to set up his synagogue, and to worship God according to the ancient faith and ritual of his people. While yet the population of the city amounted to less than ten thousand, there were ten different places of public worship, belonging to and occupied by an equal number of distinct sects, each having its own creed and formulary. By thus living together on terms of equality, the members of these discordant sects learned lessons of mutual forbearance, and by degrees substituted a genial charity for the violence of religious partisanship.

It is not to be concealed that during the entire colonial period of the history of New-York the Romish faith was proscribed, and its worship disallowed. But this was a matter of political rather than of religious policy. The Church of Rome was a great and formidable political power, endeavoring, by all the machinations of its complicated but powerful agencies, to subvert every state and kingdom that would not yield to its demands. It was therefore in self-defense that the Protestant States of Europe arrayed themselves against the Papacy, and disallowed its emissaries, the priests, to dwell within their bounds. It was not, therefore, religious intolerance, but political vigilance, that shut the Papists out of New-York, until, under the influence of Protestant institutions, the political body became so thoroughly consolidated that it no longer had cause to fear the presence and power of those natural enemies of civil and religious liberty.

§ 321. *Social progress during the eighteenth century.*

During the greater part of that portion of the eighteenth century which preceded the war of the Revolution, New-York remained, for the most part, in a very quiet and secluded condition. No considerable accessions of immigrants occurred later than those already enumerated. The people dwelt quietly together in their habitations, and the population was augmented rather by the natural increase of families than by accessions from abroad. During the second quarter of that century the increase of numbers was less than one hundred a year, or about one per cent. annually; a ratio less than the ordinary natural increase of families. For the ensuing twenty-five years the growth of population was much greater; but the accessions were chiefly from other portions of the province, and so brought no new elements into the social body. By the operation of these causes the population of New-York, at the beginning of the revolutionary struggle, was almost exclusively made up of natives of the province, whose ancestors also, for several generations, had been residents of the country. Thus, though descended from a variety of the families of Europe, the people of New-York had become consolidated and assimilated, till the social body presented a very good degree of individuality of character and homogeneousness of structure.

§ 322. *The New-York character.*

The people of New-York, while bearing the common features of the American character, have also certain specific traits of mind, that sufficiently distinguish

them as a well-defined variety of the common genus. Though these characteristics are less prominent and obtrusive than those of the New-Englander, or the Virginian, or the Kentuckian, they are not less real or worthy of attention. The influences among which the crude elements of the social mass were fused into a consistent body, at the same time determined the future character. Those determining influences originated, for the most part, at the fire-side and in domestic life. Men who had come hither to escape the grasp of tyranny were satisfied to guard their own hearth-stones, to store their own garners, and to worship God "under their own vine and fig-tree." A community educated among such influences, and trained to such habits, must be at once the most loyal subjects of good government, and the most formidable enemies to tyranny. This has ever been the case with the people of New-York. The most unlimited equality of social and religious privileges is cheerfully conceded to all, while any encroachments upon individual liberty are jealously detected and fearlessly withstood.

The tendency of such a condition of society is especially to develop the individual. Each citizen is a peer of the realm; each household an inviolable stronghold of freedom. The opinions and sentiments, the pleasures and devotions of each individual are all his own, with which the government has no right nor power to interfere; and he fashions them according to his own convictions, tastes, or caprices. This individuality is thus made the predominating condition, to which public opinion and the dicta of Church or State are made wholly secondary. The body politic

and social is thus made to rest on the divine institution of the family, and the hearth-stone becomes the keystone of the commonwealth ; by which means the love of individual freedom is cherished, and every motive to invade the rights of others taken away.

§ 323. *Influence of commerce.*

It is granted that the same tendencies which so effectually develop the individual character, if carried too far, will render the man rough and discourteous. It would perhaps be claiming too much for the people of New-York to say that this result has not in any degree been realized among them. But from the beginning this influence has been checked and modified by another of a contrary tendency. New-York has always been a seat of commerce, and its population a mercantile people. Commercial relations are those of mutual dependence, which necessarily induce conciliatoriness, and tend even to cringing. Such a tendency is of course directly opposed to that sturdy independence which is the fundamental element of character among our people ; a virtue whose excess may seem a fault. In itself that tendency is confessed to be an evil one, since it induces a sycophantic manner, and substitutes mercantile for moral considerations in the estimate of things. The influences of commerce are not friendly to a spirit of personal independence, and that true self-respect by which a man esteems himself none the worse because he wants the accidents of wealth. Gain is the primary object of the mere merchant's aspirations, to which every other consideration must be sacrificed. With such a person even liberty has its price, and the de-

mands of morality and religion are less imperative than those of trade. These influences have no doubt somewhat affected the character of our people; in some instances, and even among large classes, tending to reduce men to mere money-changers, and devotees of mammon; but, in their more general operations, counter-working the excessive tendency of society to a stern and uncourtly independence of character and manners. Probably neither individual liberty nor good morals could be maintained in a purely-mercantile community; but the tendencies which, operating alone, would be thus ruinous, may become available for good in modifying opposite tendencies. These antagonistic influences have been called into efficient exercise among us, and, by their conflict, they have elicited a genuine independence of character, softened and subdued by social influences.

§ 324. *Influence of the state of learning.*

In scarcely any other of the American colonies were the interests of education so long and so generally neglected as in New-York. Founded and maintained for commercial purposes, New-Amsterdam, or New-York, was, during its whole colonial existence, very inadequately supplied with the facilities for public instruction. Of necessity the native-born children grew up without learning; and as, in the progress of things; almost the entire population became a native one, a wide-spread popular ignorance prevailed. This state of things, as might be presumed, did not fail to produce a degeneracy of the public morals and a degradation of the popular character. There was, indeed, always an educated class in the community, the salu-

tary influence of whose presence may be easily recognized ; but they were too far removed from the masses, as to both their associations and their sympathies, to exert any great influence over them. The state of learning, of manners, and of morals, was not what it should have been, during the whole colonial history of New-York. But these evils were not without their incidental benefits. For nearly three quarters of a century the little communities on the Hudson were left to consolidate their heterogeneous materials of thoughts and ideas, as well as of persons, in a state of almost complete isolation. Very few and scanty contributions to their intellectual stores were derived from foreign sources. A third generation, since the last general immigration, was born and reared among the homely scenes and home-born influences of these isolated settlements, and of course the whole community became consolidated into a proper unity of ideas and sentiments, action and character. While thus separated from both the social and intellectual influences of other people, the crude elements of our native population, by its internal fermentations, gave being to the New-York character. That character, enlightened and educated, is the same that is now the honest pride of the genuine New-Yorker.

§ 325. *Distinctive characteristics.*

Writers on America and the Americans have especially distinguished two great classes of our population, the Puritanic and the Cavalier, or, the New-Englanders and the Virginians ; and some have vainly attempted to reduce the whole American people to these two classes. Nor is it wonderful that superficial

observers should recognize these and overlook others. The real individuality of these characters is manifest; they belong to numerous bodies, having a traditional celebrity, and the features that distinguish them are prominent and well-defined. Their very deformities render them more easy to be recognized, and their want of symmetry gives a distinctiveness to their individuality. It is not strange, therefore, that the Puritan and Cavalier are recognized by some who fail to perceive or to identify the Knickerbocker. But a more careful and discriminating observation would not fail to discover that the inhabitants of the Empire City are not a mere mongrel race, without individuality of character and proper distinctive social traits. Though less sharply defined than some others, and too symmetrically formed to be distinguished by some prominent feature of character, as well as without the prestige of ancestral fame, the New-York character is not only a specific reality, but also, as such, it is marked by characteristics of which none need be ashamed.

§ 326. *The Yankee and the Knickerbocker.*

Between the New-Englander and the New-Yorker—the Yankee and the Knickerbocker—there are clearly-marked differences of character, arising, doubtless, from facts and circumstances connected with the colonial history of each people. New-England was settled by organized bodies; New-York by individuals. Community of religious opinions and observances was the bond of union among the Puritan colonists; so that opinion was legalized, and dissent or non-conformity became an offense. Thus individual opinion was merged into associated opinion, and the man appeared

as a member of the associated body rather than as a complete and responsible individuality. How entirely different was the state of things in colonial New-York has been already shown, in connection with the natural results of these influences. The effects of these original differences are now rendered imperishable by being incorporated into the provincialist traits of character. In New-England the consolidation of society has, to a great degree, destroyed proper individuality and independence of character; while in New-York the social mass is but an aggregation of persons, each complete in his own individual integrity.

The same causes have given form to the intellectual character of the two sub-nationalities. New-England enjoyed great intellectual advantages over her western neighbors from the beginning of her existence; nor has the rapid progress of the latter, during the present century, sufficed to overcome their relative disadvantages. The inhabitants of New-England are still a more learned people than those of New-York. But there is a plain difference between *learning* and *education*; and while we concede a superiority as to the former to our eastern neighbors, we question their title to even equality as to the latter. An accumulation of facts and ideas may be made under the restraints of an artificial discipline, and with a stunted mental development; but that education which justly forms the character requires that the mind shall be free in its exercise, and unconstrained in its processes and determinations. The tyranny of conventionalism has unquestionably operated unfavorably upon the New-England character, as compared with the breadth and freedom that distinguish that of the New-Yorker.

§ 327. *The New-Yorker and the Virginian.*

The character of the Virginian differs still more widely from that of the New-Yorker. The name by which that character is designated—Cavalier—sufficiently describes him. He is brave, haughty, and reckless. Such a character can be maintained only in an artificial and constrained state of society; and where it is found it must belong, not to the whole community, but only to a privileged class. Persons thus circumstantially elevated may be compelled to a kind of self-respect by their condition, but self-respect thus caused is not genuine. It is not in view of his own manhood that such an one is led to abhor whatever is low or base, but only in respect to his circumstances. Strip him of these accidents of family and kindred, of wealth and position, and the Cavalier is fallen. This habitual reliance on accidents is greatly unfriendly to individual development and personal elevation. These statements, as to both the facts and the theory of the case, are abundantly attested by the desolation that broods over the once fertile fields of the Old Dominion, as compared with the ever-increasing fertility of the Empire State; and especially by the diminutiveness and dilapidation of the chief sea-port town of the former, compared with the thrift and progress of that of the latter.

The Virginian attains his social position and maintains his character by means of his circumstances; the New-Yorker accomplishes the same end by his own inherent energies, and, if necessary, *in spite* of his circumstances. Though favored by none of the accidents of life, he asserts his own manhood, and asks no other title to respectability, nor will he permit any man to become his patron. Respecting himself as a

man, he cannot be mean, though he may be poor ; and recognizing the same manhood in others, he cannot be arrogant, however far above them in merely external things.

§ 328. *Assimilating power.*

Such are the people of New-York, the denizens of the Empire City and of the Empire State. They compose an illustrious sub-species of the great American family, instinct with energy, and gifted with an almost unlimited spirit of enterprise, and endowed with the most exalted attributes of humanity. A native race, derived from no ancestral prototype, and copying servilely no exemplar, they must attain to a more glorious destiny than has yet been achieved among mankind. The name assumed and conceded by common consent shall be abundantly justified alike in the *materiel* and the *personnel* of the Empire City. This native energy of the New-York character also displays itself in its power to assimilate other forms to itself. From whatever point the denizen of that city may have come, a residence in New-York surely and speedily makes him a NEW-YORKER. The eastern, the southern, the western man soon loses his peculiarities, and becomes like his neighbors. The plastic Hibernian forgets that he is an exile ; and even the implastic Teutons insensibly yield to the impalpable but irresistible influences that surround them. Thus are our immigrant population transformed, in character as well as in political rights, into genuine Americans, and New-York energy acts as a solvent to fuse the motley masses that Europe is pouring upon our shores into a consistent body of valuable and happy freemen.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FUTURE OF NEW-YORK.

§ 329. *Basis of estimate.*

THE past and present are the only reliable interpreters of the future. By these alone would we attempt to estimate what, it may be presumed, will be realized in the coming events of the city of New-York. Its past career is suggestive of such estimates, and the effects produced by causes still in active operation carry the mind forward to the probabilities of the future. Nor need the whole of the past history of New-York be consulted in making calculations as to its future condition, but only that portion of it which has been governed by causes still in operation. New-York, as to its present character, and the causes of its prosperity, is only about a hundred years old. It was about the middle of the last century that its population assumed a proper unity and individuality of character; and at the same time the course of business pursuits and the spirit of self-reliance that continue to distinguish the place and the people became pretty fully settled. From that time the progress of the city has been steady and uniform, increasing in population and in its resources in a constant geometrical ratio.

§ 330. *Growth of the past century.*

In 1756 the population of the city had attained to about ten thousand. During the former portion of the eighteenth century the growth of the city had

been very inconsiderable—even less than the usual natural increase of the population. From that time to the beginning of the revolutionary struggle the growth was much more rapid; so that in 1773 the number of the inhabitants was nearly twenty-two thousand. The war of course put an end to this prosperity; and though the return of peace restored a large portion of the refugee families, and also made large additions to their numbers, yet, in 1786, there were only two thousand more than there were thirteen years before. When the first federal census was taken, in 1790, the population of the city was found to be a little over thirty-three thousand. The subsequent growth of the city is shown in the following table:—

Years.	Population.	Increase.	Rate of Increase.
1790	33,131	.....	.....
1800	60,489	27,358	82.54 per cent.
1810	96,373	35,884	59.65 “
1820	123,706	27,333	28.63 “
1830	202,589	78,883	63.68 “
1840	312,852	110,263	54.42 “
1850	515,507	203,655	65.09 “

§ 331. *Ratio of increase.*

By examining the above table it will be seen that the average rate of increase, for each term of ten years, was not far from sixty per cent. This rate of increase, however, has varied very considerably from a strict uniformity at different times; some of which variations may be easily referred to obvious accidental causes, others may require a more careful scrutiny. Immediately after the war of the Revolution, New-York was looked to as the natural and prospective seat of the new national government. Toward this

place, therefore, all eyes were turned, and in anticipation of its future glory, as the prospective federal city, many made it the place of their residence. There, too, the newly-awakened commercial interest of the country soon began to concentrate, and thence to send out its fleets to all parts of the world. The demand for the mechanic arts was thus increased, and a greater number of artisans employed; by which means the population was still further augmented. By the operation of these causes the number of inhabitants, which at the end of the war did not exceed twenty thousand, in 1800 had grown to sixty thousand. The next period of ten years was one of unabated increase, though the relative augmentation was not so considerable.

The decade extending from 1810 to 1820 shows a relative increase of less than one-half of the common ratio; but the cause of this is obvious. For a great part of that period the commerce of the city was almost completely annihilated by the operation of political causes. For about three years the country was engaged in a war with Great Britain, which so disastrously affected the business of New-York, that instead of the usual increase there was an actual diminution of inhabitants. The accelerated rate of increase during the last ten years may require a fuller discussion in another place.

The increase indicated in the table fails adequately to set forth the real progress of the city during the last twenty years. Until about the beginning of that period the aggregation of people and dwellings, that make up the real city of New-York, was wholly contained within the limits of its municipal territory. But since that time the city has overflowed

those limits, so that the political city is not identical with the real one. Brooklyn and Williamsburgh are, to all practical purposes, and by their common relation to its individuality, integral portions of the city of New-York. In 1830 the aggregate population of these two villages was a little more than sixteen thousand; in 1840 it had increased to forty-one thousand; and in 1850 there were found over one hundred and twenty-five thousand. If then these places, now grown to be large cities, be reckoned, as they really are, portions of New-York, its increase, especially during the last decade, will be very considerably augmented, and the ratio, as compared with the population ten years before, will be almost two to one.

§ 332. *Ratio for the future.*

It would be an easy task for a mere school-boy to estimate what will be the growth of the city, if it may be presumed that the same rate of progress that has continued with a good degree of uniformity for sixty years, will be maintained for the remaining portion of the present century. The whole matter may be readily reduced to the form of a mathematical proposition. Reckoning the population of the city in 1790 at thirty-three thousand, and dividing the period from that time to 1895 into portions of fifteen years each, and allowing the increase for each of these portions to be binary, we have a regular geometrical series of seven terms—of which four are already past, and three yet to come. Those already past conform with remarkable exactness to the requirements of the proposition; but those to come would carry the calculation into a region quite beyond the imaginings of the most

sanguine. As a matter of curiosity, and to indicate the tendency of things, the whole matter is spread out in the annexed table:—

Years.	Terms.	Actual numbers.	Brooklyn and Williamsburgh.
1790	33,000	33,131	.....
1805	66,000	75,570	.....
1820	132,000	123,706	.....
1835	264,000	270,089	est. 27,627
1850	528,000	515,507	127,627
1865	1,056,000	.....	.....
1880	2,112,000	.....	.....
1895	4,224,000	.....	.....

§ 333. *Accidental modifications.*

In the above table eight different periods, with the population at each, are presented; there are, however, but seven terms of increase given. Of these four are already past, and we have their results. The first slightly exceeded the assumed ratio; the second fell short by a few thousands, though it covered the disastrous period of the embargo and the war with Great Britain; the third goes over the assumed ratio, but falls so nearly into it as to require very little qualification; the fourth, ending in 1850, if only the city of New-York, according to its political limits, is included, falls a little below it, but if Brooklyn and Williamsburgh are included, and all other real suburbs rejected, the excess is seen to be nearly a hundred thousand, and the actual ratio of increase nearly a hundred per cent. for the ten years. Following the same rule of increase into the future, in 1865 we shall have over a million; in 1880, two millions; and in 1900, over five millions. To expect the realization of all this would perhaps seem over-sanguine; the same, too, would have been

said, if, sixty years since, any one had predicted that which we now record as history. In reckonings of this character we are compelled to disregard precedents and analogies, for the past affords none that can be properly applied to the case; and to venture forth into the unexplored sea of uncertainty, and timidly to follow whither the finger of destiny seems to point out the way.

§ 334. *Ratio of the city to the State and nation.*

In the next table will be found a statement and comparative view of the increase of the population of the city of New-York, the State of New-York, and of the United States, from 1790 to 1850, which, if it fails to throw any light upon the future, may at least serve as the basis of an amusing conjecture.

Years.	Population of the United States.	Population of New-York State.	Population of New-York city.	Ratio of City to State.	Ratio of City to U. States.
1790	3,929,827	341,120	33,131	.0921	.0084
1800	5,305,941	586,756	60,489	.1030	.0114
1810	7,239,814	959,049	96,373	.1005	.0133
1820	9,638,191	1,372,812	123,706	.0901	.0129
1830	12,866,020	1,913,006	202,589	.1059	.0158
1840	17,069,453	2,428,921	312,852	.1281	.0183
1850	23,218,199	3,097,095	515,507	.1665	.0222

From this table it appears that the ratio of the population of this city, as compared with that of the State, and still more as compared with that of the whole United States, has rapidly increased, especially during the last twenty years. In 1790 the ratio of city to State was as one to eleven, and in 1820 it was even below that point; but in 1850 it had advanced to the ratio of one to six—nearly doubling the former ratio. And as compared with the population of the entire

nation in 1790, New-York had, of every ten thousand inhabitants in the United States, eighty-four; in 1820, one hundred and twenty-nine; and in 1850, two hundred and twenty-two.

The rate of increase of the population of the United States has been pretty uniformly thirty-three and a third per cent. for each term of ten years. If, then, we continue this for fifty years yet to come, reckoning the population of 1850 at twenty-three millions, and rejecting all odd thousands, we have, for 1860, thirty millions; for 1870, forty millions; for 1880, fifty-three millions; for 1890, seventy millions; and for 1900, ninety-three millions. At this last date, we have seen that, according to its usual rate of progress, the city of New-York will contain a population of five millions, or about one-nineteenth part of the whole nation; while in 1790 the ratio was only about one to one hundred and twenty, and in 1850 one to forty-five—or, if the suburbs of New-York be included as part of the city, as one to thirty-six.

As to the probability that anything like this calculation will be realized, we say nothing at present—only that these reckonings at this time appear no more improbable, to the common observer, than fifty years since would have been the anticipation of what has actually transpired since that time, and also that the ratio of growth has actually increased instead of diminished as the city has become enlarged. It must also be remembered that in this reckoning no account is made of the growth of the vast suburbs of New-York into which, during the ten years ending in 1850, that city sent out not less than a hundred thousand inhabitants. If these were included, the ratio of the

city to the whole country would be very considerably increased.

§ 335. *Growth of cities.*

It is to be noticed that the growth anticipated in this calculation is not only unprecedented in rapidity, but also in extent. There are no such cities in the world as New-York will soon be, according to this reckoning,—and especially there are none in America or Europe that approach anywhere near to such a magnitude. The question then arises very naturally whether there is not a point of maturity for cities, as well as for most other things, beyond which they may not be expected to advance? It might be difficult to affirm that there is not such a point; but it would be quite as much so to prove that there is, and till that is done the question avails nothing as an objection. The progress of things in this country has always overrun precedents, both in the rapidity of their growth and the vastness of their attainments. A great change has occurred in the civilized world within the last hundred years, and the developments of things are all on a greatly enlarged scale. The old cities of Europe, as London and Paris, are now growing more rapidly than ever before, and certainly show very little to prove the theory of maturity in metropolitan stature. The changed condition of the civilized, and especially the commercial world, requires larger cities than have formerly existed. With the increase of material wealth, and the consequent growth of the useful and fine arts, an increased proportion of the population of a country becomes urban—a change that is evidently going forward in this country. In a rude state of society nearly

all the industry is occupied in producing the raw materials of subsistence, and of course nearly all the working population—which in such a state of society includes almost all who are able to work—reside in the open country, where these pursuits may be prosecuted. But as wealth and luxury increase, the number of citizens, as distinguished from rustics, is multiplied, and a relatively less number of the operatives of the country are engaged in rural occupations. The rich and luxurious generally congregate in and about great cities; and thither are also drawn the ministers of their pleasure, who constitute the great body, not only of player and parasites, but also of fancy artisans and fashionable shopkeepers. By the operation of these causes the growth of cities will always correspond, in a good degree, to the wealth of the countries in which they are situated.

§ 336. *Population the basis of estimate.*

In the above calculation population alone has been considered as the measure of the growth and magnitude of the city. This has been done chiefly for two reasons—it is more definite than any other that can be assumed, and it is the standard commonly used in estimating such things. It is granted that it is not always rigidly correct, though probably no other standard could be chosen that would be liable to so few objections. We the more willingly use it in this case, because it is believed that any other element of the city's growth would show even a greater increase than this, and we desire to employ the most moderate calculations in our estimates. It is generally believed that the increase of capital during the last fifteen

years has been in a much greater ratio than that of population; that while the aggregate of the latter has only a little more than doubled, that of the former has nearly quadrupled. The statistics of trade, of banking, of production, and of consumption, all indicate a great relative increase of the wealth of the city over its population; while the style of living, of architecture, and of equipage, all indicate the rapid growth of the substantial wealth of the entire population. Such is the advanced state of society in this particular, that the statistics plainly prove that could New-York be saved from the care of imported paupers she would very soon have none at all to provide for.

§ 337. *Concentration of trade.*

The prosperity of New-York has always depended chiefly upon its commerce. It has indeed other sources of prosperity, in its manufactures, its buildings giving constant occupation to a great number of artisans and laborers, its schools, its public institutions and private residences; but these are only incidental, while commerce is the source of life and activity to the whole. This commerce is both foreign and domestic; penetrating by the latter to every village and neighborhood in the whole country, and reaching by the former to every portion of the habitable world. The commerce of western Europe and America has increased very greatly during the past half-century, and is still advancing with even accelerated rapidity. It is constantly opening new fields for its own enterprise as well as greatly enlarging those already occupied. Its facilities have been almost immeasurably increased by the use of steam in navigation and on rail-

roads. The most remote regions of the earth are now as accessible as were, fifty years since, the nearest trans-marine countries; and the chief cities of Europe are now visited from New-York with less difficulty than, fifty years ago, a journey was made to one of the nearest of our Atlantic cities. As a result of this facility of traveling and transportation, the business of commerce is concentrating at certain great central points. Merchants are eminently gregarious, and always incline to the principal seats of trade; so that in proportion as the facilities of passing from place to place are increased, they congregate in a common mart of trade. The restrictions laid on trade by governments generally shut up the chief part of the commerce of each country within its own bounds; so that each country will have one principal seat of trade. Sometimes, where countries have been of great extent, they have had more than one principal seat of commerce. But this could arise only from the difficulty of internal intercommunications. In the existing state of things our country can have but one commercial emporium on the Atlantic sea-board, and no one need be told that New-York must be that ONE.

§ 338. *Whence can the people be gotten?*

The most formidable difficulty in the way of realizing these anticipations seems to be in finding so large a number of persons to add to our present population. The utmost that could be calculated upon, independent of immigration, would be an increase of one hundred per cent. in fifty years, leaving more than forty millions to be supplied from foreign countries. That there will long continue to be large accessions of

foreigners to our population, does not admit of doubt, but the fountains whence our present streams of immigrants are drawn will be quite exhausted before the immense demands made by this calculation can be satisfied. Though Ireland were left an uninhabited waste, and whole duchies and principalities in Germany depopulated to give their population to America, still the demand would be unsatisfied. We know not what revolutions, political or social, may yet arise to send the inhabitants of the great kingdoms of Europe by millions to our shores; or by which the countless hosts of Asia shall be drawn hither to mingle with our own people, and to become incorporated into the social mass of our population. There are, no doubt, people enough in the world, and enough that could be spared from the over-crowded cities and countries of the Old World, to afford a million annually for half a century to occupy the wastes of America, without diminishing at all the strength of their own population. But it is not so certain that such a transfer will be made. Yet even this is not now more improbable than was, twenty-five years ago, the immense immigration that has actually taken place within the few last years.

§ 339. *Natural advantages of New-York.*

Nature has done everything for New-York to render it the commercial capital of North America. Its harbor is universally confessed to be one of the finest on the face of the earth. It is spacious enough to give sea-room at once to all the shipping in the world. Its depth of water at the wharves is sufficient for the largest vessels, and in most of the space within the ample area of the bay the largest ship may safely ride

at anchor. The depth of the channel leading through the Narrows toward the ocean varies from six to eight fathoms; and upon the bar at Sandy-Hook, at the lowest tides, there are four fathoms of water, or more than five fathoms at high-water. By the combined influences of the climate, the saltness of the water, and the strength of the currents setting toward the sea, the harbor is almost entirely free from obstructions by ice, so that at all seasons of the year vessels enter and clear at her port at all times with the same facility.

§ 340. *Inland commerce.*

For internal commerce the provisions of nature are also abundant. First comes the noble Hudson, penetrating far into the interior of the State, and navigable almost its entire length, thus offering a ready means of commercial intercourse with all that part of the State that lies along or near its banks—all indeed that, until the present century, was occupied by white men. In the western portion of the State lies the fertile region of the Genesee—the land of promise to agricultural adventurers thirty years since. From this fertile region the natural means of transportation was originally very imperfect, yet not entirely deficient. By means of the Mohawk and Oswego Rivers, and the lakes, a system of navigation was maintained, though with much labor and at great expense of time. But though nature had not provided an adequate channel of communication with this store-house of her products, she had prepared the way for man to provide one for himself. From the Hudson to Lake Erie was an unbroken extent of level and well-watered surface, inviting the hand of industry to open, at com-

paratively small expense, an artificial channel to connect these two great highways of commerce. This was accomplished more than twenty-five years ago,—and by its completion the Erie Canal irreversibly fixed the destiny of New-York as the commercial capital of America.

By means of this canal the entire region of the great lakes was at once opened to New-York, and every step in the development of the resources of the fertile regions that lay along their shores is so much added to the resources of that city. By the rapid filling up of the great north-west with a thrifty and enterprising population, the business of New-York has been greatly augmented; and to this, as a principal cause, may be attributed its unprecedented growth during the last few years. The want of adaptation of canals for rapid transportation, and their liability to entire suspension by frost, has been compensated for by the construction of railroads, especially that which immediately unites the city to the shores of Lake Erie.

By means of these great thoroughfares of trade, the whole of the great west has become tributary to the commerce of New-York; and its productions, from as far south as Tennessee, seek an avenue to the seaboard by the canals and railroads of New-York. The current of travel has also been attracted into the same channel, as it is now proved that the best route from the Atlantic cities, as far south as Washington, to the towns on the Ohio and Mississippi—to say nothing of those on the great lakes—is by way of the city of New-York, and over the railroads of that State to Lake Erie. The idea seems indeed poetical, but it is

nevertheless true, that under the operation of these causes New-York has become so enriched that she may call Ohio her kitchen-garden, Michigan and Wisconsin her pastures, and Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, her harvest-fields; and in turn these wealthy and flourishing States may claim a proprietorship in New-York as their mart of commerce, and the gate through which they send out their superabundance, to receive in return the riches of foreign countries.

§ 341. *Relations with other cities.*

By reason of this growth of the commerce of New-York, those cities that have formerly been her rivals are rapidly assuming the relation of auxiliaries and dependencies. The equipoise that formerly existed, by reason of which the gain of one was, in some sense, the loss of the other, has been destroyed, and the rivalry has been exchanged for a community of interests. In consequence of this the growth of her sister cities is the gain of New-York, since from its stores must come the supplies upon which their growing population depends, and through it must go forth those productions and fabrics that these cities send forth upon the wings of commerce; and in both the inward and outward passage a transit-duty is paid to the merchants of New-York. As a commercial nation, America has its heart at New-York, and every increase of the resources of the nation must also be a commercial contribution to that city.

§ 342. *New-York as a place of residence.*

As a place of residence, New-York possesses very many natural advantages. Its intermediate position

between the rigors of a higher latitude and the enervating warmth, and exposure to pestilence, of a lower one, gives it decided advantages over places considerably removed either to the north or south of it. It is believed that the belt of country lying between the thirty-eighth and forty-second degrees of north latitude is, of all our country, the best adapted to the perfect physical development of its inhabitants—and, of course, to their mental growth and activity; and in this region New-York occupies a nearly midway position. Though the statistics of mortality may not seem at first sight to justify a claim to superior healthiness of the climate, a closer examination will quite obviate this objection. For a number of years past the population of the city has been, to a very considerable degree, an imported one; at present nearly one-half is of European origin, and even more than one-half of the whole population of the city, at this time, grew up and formed their physical constitutions among influences more or less unlike those of New-York. If such bring with them the latent seeds of disease, which develop themselves in our city, the climate of New-York is not responsible for their premature decay. The best test of the salubrity of the climate of this place is afforded by the statistics of the city of Brooklyn, whose inhabitants are, in a much greater ratio, of American extraction, and a very large portion of them are natives of New-York city. The mortality of Brooklyn, as compared with New-York, is only as three to five—a rate that is believed to be considerably lower than that of any large city in the world. And notwithstanding all these disadvantages the ratio of mortality in New-York is very little higher

than in most other American or European cities, and actually lower than that of many which are exempt from its peculiar incidental disadvantages.

§ 343. *Advantages of the ground-plot.*

For a city whose inhabitants shall be counted by millions, the ground-plot of New-York city is decidedly excellent. This could not be said of the city while confined to Manhattan Island; which, though sufficiently adapted to the purposes of a dense city, affords very little variety, and almost absolutely repels the approach of suburban embellishments. But the New-York of the future, while its central seat will still be on Manhattan Island, will reach out her vast arms and take in the whole western end of Long Island, the whole of Staten Island, a vast extent of the coast of New-Jersey, and a considerable portion of Westchester County beyond Harlem River; and within this space is found every variety of surface, soil, and physical configuration. Already these places are becoming the seats of villages, built by capital from the city, and occupied by a teeming population from the city, who still continue to spend their hours of business in the great metropolis. Here, too, in every direction, are springing up the suburban villas of more opulent citizens, who seek beyond the din and dust of the city proper, the quiet that is there denied them. Here, too, are rising a multitude of public institutions—charitable, religious, and literary—by all of which the recent scenes of rural industry are becoming transformed into scenes of the animated turmoil of city life.

§ 344. *Character of the future city.*

The New-York of 1900 will probably be a much less compactly built city than that which now occupies the southern extremity of Manhattan Island. The overgrown proportions of the city are rapidly familiarizing the people with long distances. It is now no unusual thing for people to reside three, four, or five miles from their places of business, and things are arranging themselves to suit this state of affairs. Means of conveyance at minimum expenses, both of time and money, are coming into extensive use, by which the regions round about the city, as far as ten miles from the center of business, are brought into such intimate union with the city itself as to render them suitable and even economical places of residence for those who spend their hours of business in the densest part of the town. These facilities for traveling short distances outward and inward are already producing marked effects on the suburbs of New-York; and if its population shall continue to increase as it has done, there can be no doubt that yet greater proportional effects will be produced. Fifty years hence a city of cottages with gardens, and villas with parks and pleasure-grounds, and clusters of dwellings among cultivated fields and miniature groves, will cover a circular area of fifty miles diameter, centering at the present site of the City Hall.

§ 345. *Conclusion.*

Such is the prospective progress of New-York city, as foreshadowed by its past and present. But all such calculations are exceedingly liable to many and great

variations. What the future will be is entirely unknown, and all our estimates and calculations are little better than plausible conjectures; yet who can say that they are not reasonable? The same Providence that has so wonderfully prospered the city hitherto may indefinitely prolong its progress toward more advanced greatness, or he may suddenly cast down what has thus been built up. But, trusting in his continued mercy, we may hope that the day of our diminution is far distant.

• THE END.



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